

THE APOLOGYE OF
SYR THOMAS MORE,
KNYGHTE



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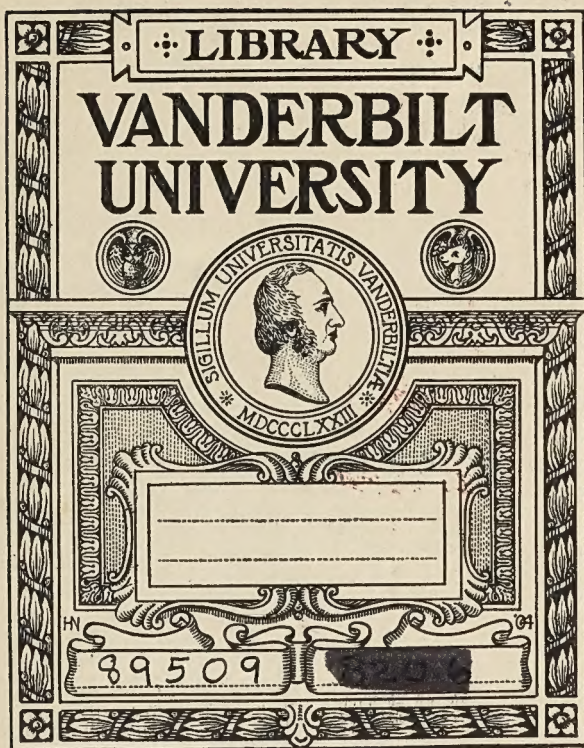
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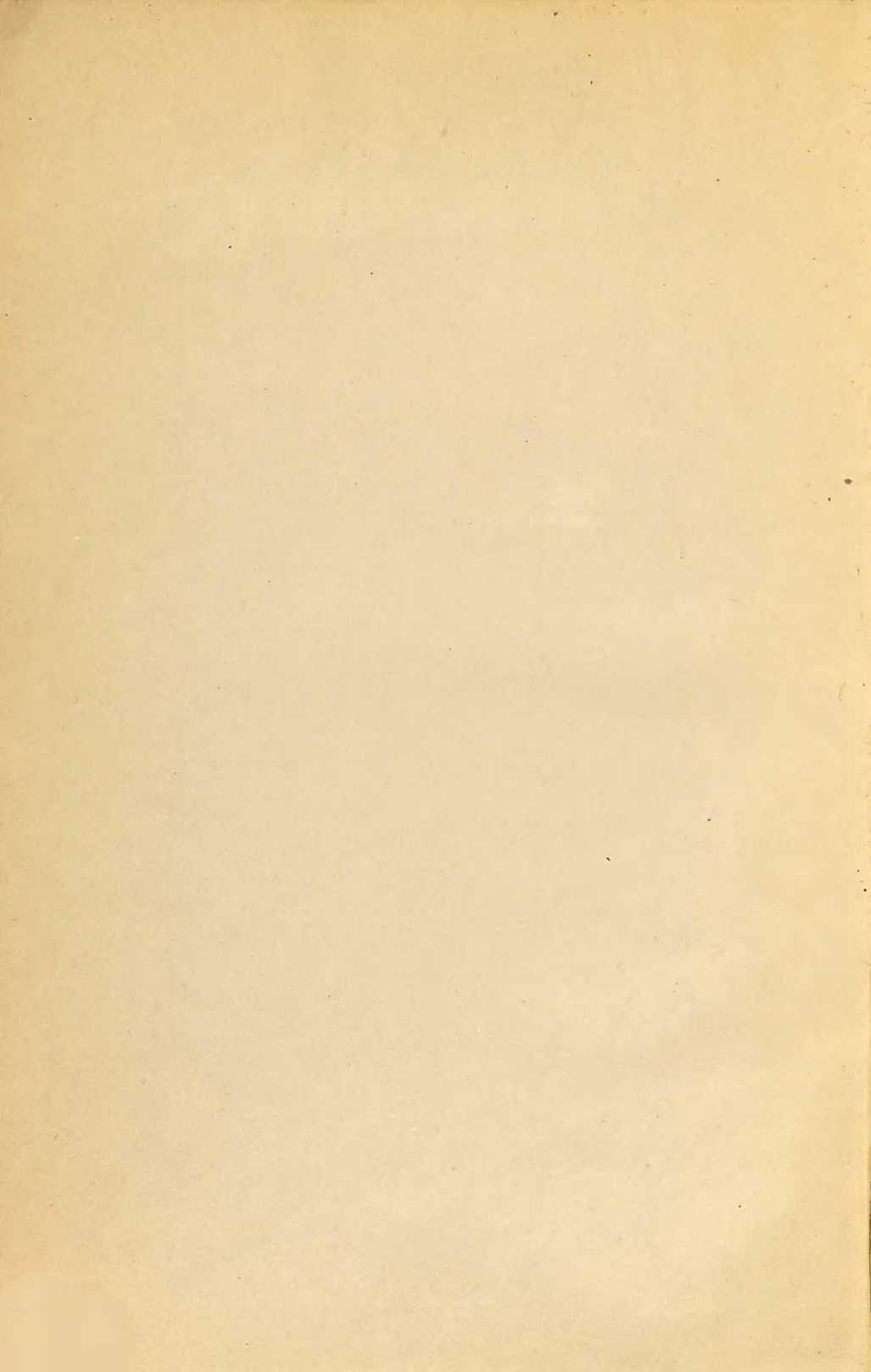
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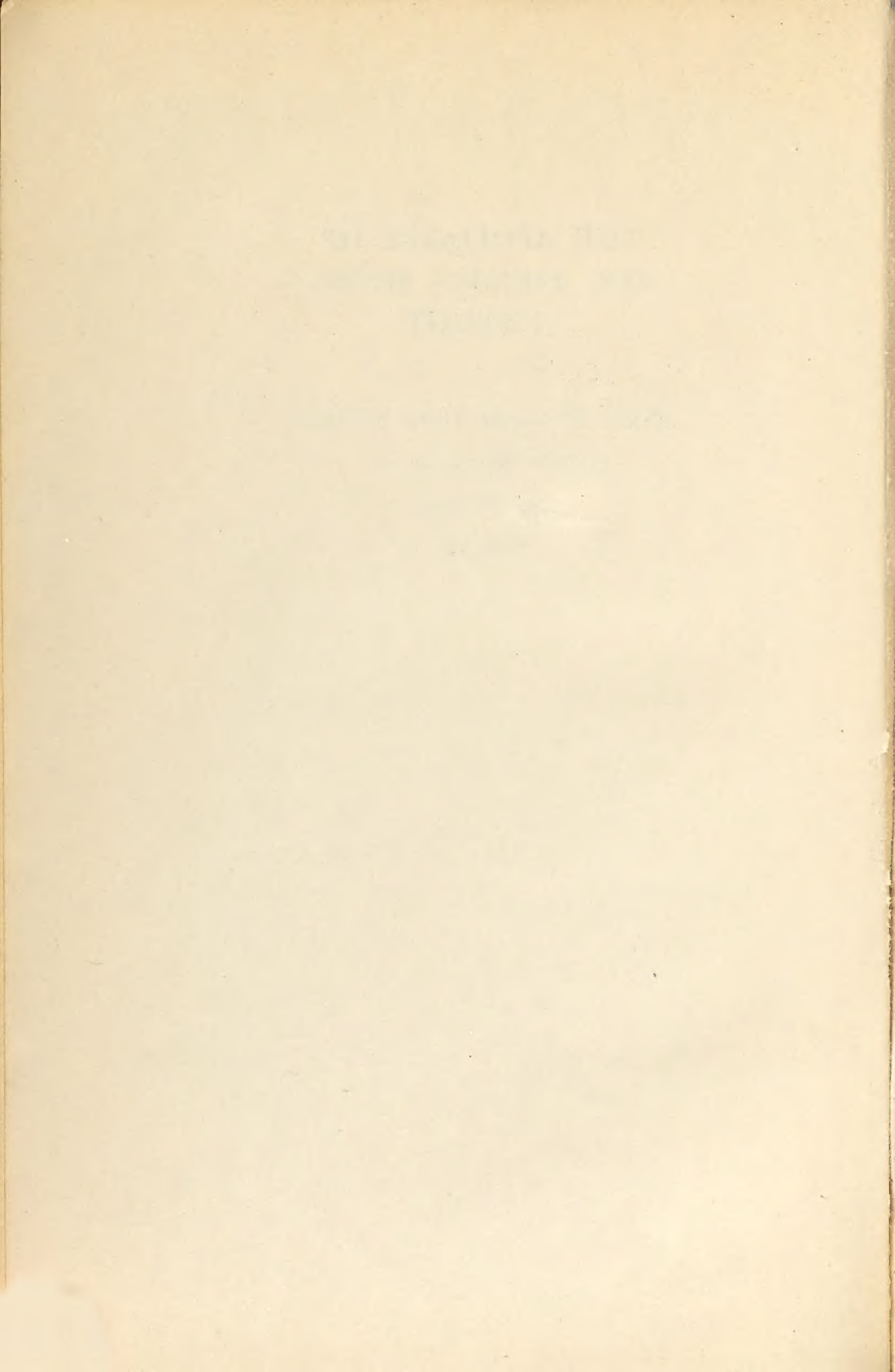
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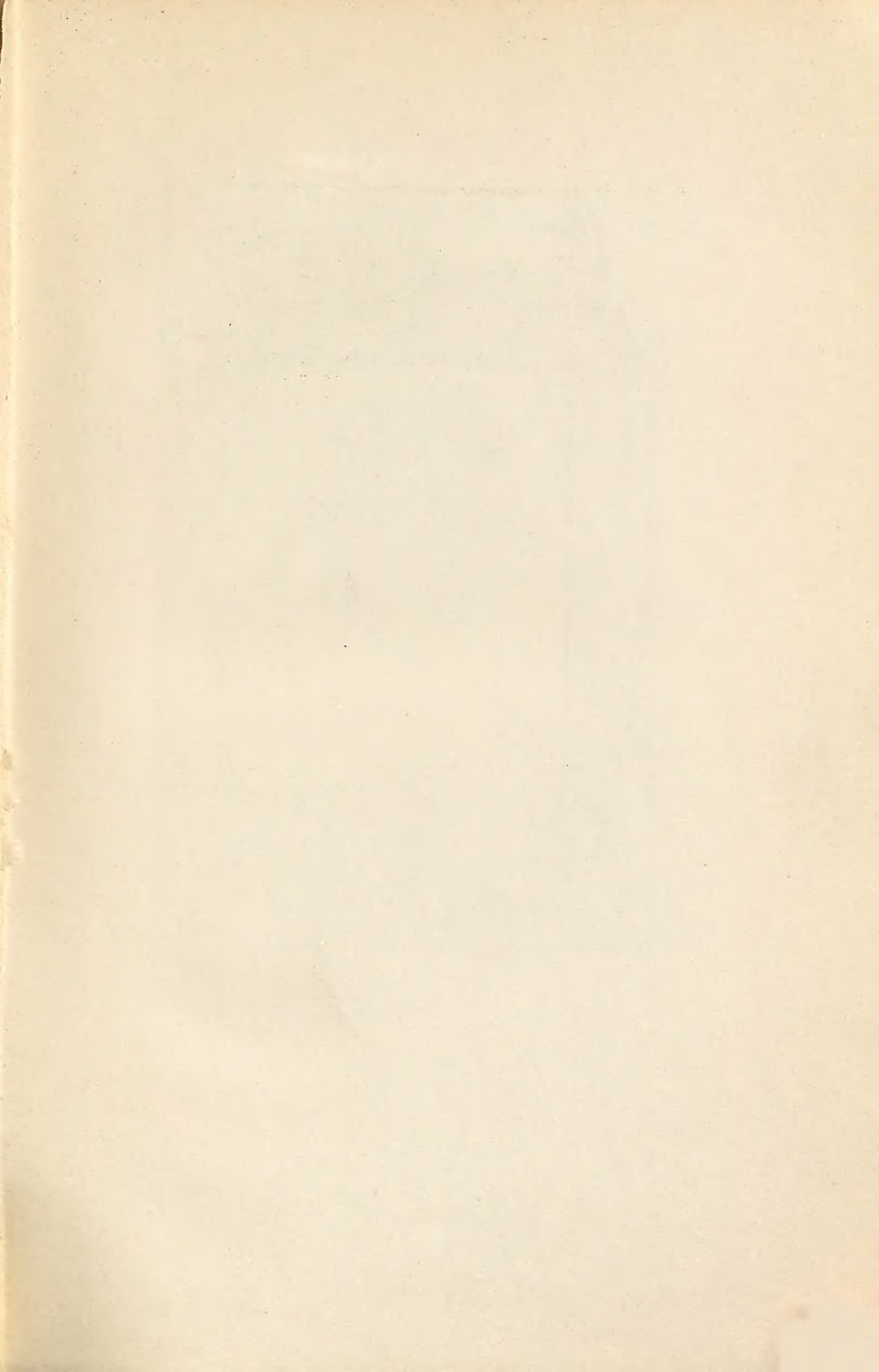
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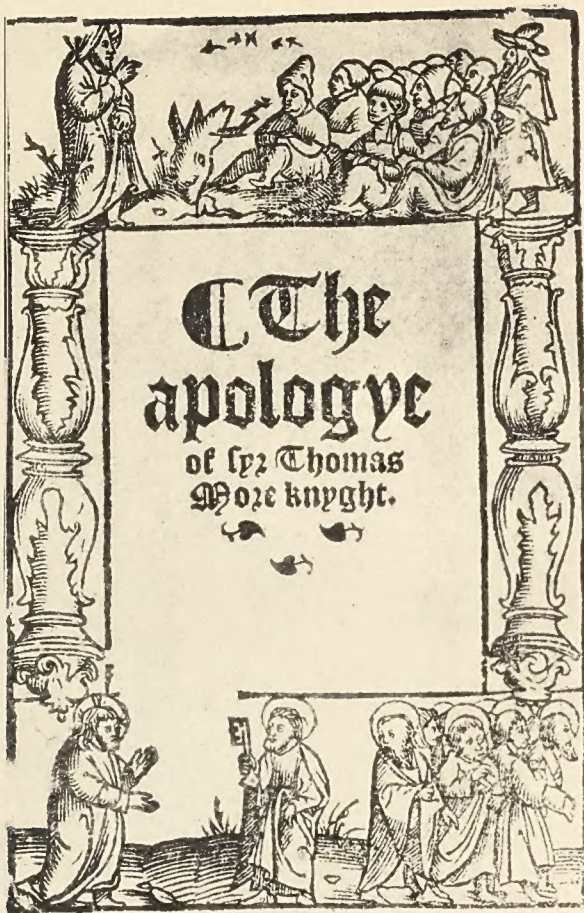
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THE APOLOGYE OF SYR THOMAS MORE, KNYGT

Edited, with Introduction and Notes,

BY

ARTHUR IRVING TAFT, PH.D.,
Professor of English in Oberlin College

LONDON:

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PREFACE

THE present edition of the *Apology* reproduces, with slight modifications to be noted presently, the text of the first edition, a small black-letter quarto printed by William Rastell in 1533. Quotations, which Rastell indicated by change of type, are here enclosed in quotation marks. All Latin phrases are here italicized, whereas Rastell did not use italic for those that occurred in passages printed in type A (Plate facing p. 21). The original contractions are expanded in italic, and the following irregularities should be noted: Iohñ is expanded as Iohan (the uncontracted form that occurs in the text); Durhñ similarly as Durham; Lincolñ and Ihoñ (both in English context) are left unexpanded. The textual notes present: 1. More's corrections (*M*) as listed in the 'The fautes escaped in the prentyng'; 2. readings from the 1557 edition of the *Works* ('57), including a few debatable readings, an occasional variation in spelling, and the correction of all except the most obvious misprints*; 3. catchwords (*c*) missing in the text; 4. corrections by the editor (*ed.*).

The Appendix presents the text of *A Treatise concerninge the diuision betwene the spiritualtie and temporallie*, the anonymous work that More attacks in the *Apology*.

A table showing the correspondence between the pages of the present edition and those of the 1557 edition of More's *Works* will be found at the end of the Notes. It is followed by a key to the editions cited.

The present edition was originally presented as a dissertation to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Yale University in candidacy for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy. Considerable reductions have been made in the illustrative material that was then included.

* See the list on p. 200.

In making these reductions the editor has slighted some of the technical questions at issue between More and his opponent, and has tried to retain whatever seemed indispensable for adequate illustration of the ideas and methods of More as a controversial writer.

The spelling and punctuation of the illustrative quotations from More, Frith, and Barnes, and of the titles of books (except in the Key to Editions Cited) have been modernized. A brief statement of method will be found at the beginning of the Notes.

The editor wishes to express his grateful acknowledgment of assistance from Professor J. M. Berdan, of Yale University, at whose suggestion the edition was undertaken; the Reverend Chester J. Bartlett, J.C.D., of the Seminary of Our Lady of the Lake, Cleveland, Ohio; Professor Francis Buckler of Oberlin College; Miss E. Jeffries Davis, of the Institute of Historical Research; Dr. Mabel Day, Secretary of the Early English Text Society; C. H. Jenkinson, Esq., of the Public Record Office; Professor A. F. Pollard of the University of London; the Most Reverend Paschal Robinson, O.F.M., of the Collegio di san Isidoro, Rome; and Professor C. H. A. Wager, of Oberlin College. To Professor R. W. Chambers, of the University of London, the editor is indebted for the privilege of consulting the proof sheets of Harpsfield's *Life and Death of Sir Thomas More*; to the Rt. Hon. John Burns for the privilege of making collations in some of the copies in the Burns collection; to the Modern Language Association of America for the use of rotographs of Saint-Germain's *Salem and Bizance*.

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INTRODUCTION

IF Sir Thomas More could be given the enviable privilege of rewriting his *Apology* in the light of the criticisms of four centuries, he would make of it a very different book. Some of the criticisms to which, in 1533, he felt bound to reply he could now afford to ignore; on the other hand, one criticism that he then thought unworthy of notice he would find recurring later with a frequency that demanded an answer. I refer to the charge of inconsistency, which since the latter part of the seventeenth century has been repeatedly brought against his political or religious views, or, more broadly, against his entire life. Though this criticism is most familiar in the balanced phrases of the modern historians who have given it currency, it appeared in its earliest form shortly after More had written his first controversial work. To Tyndale Sir Thomas More was one who 'knew the truth, and . . . forsook it again'.¹ In fact, before Tyndale had written a dozen pages of his *Answer* he found occasion to twit his opponent with the *Encomium Moriae*, and to remind his readers that the book was written in More's house by 'his darling Erasmus'. If this book 'were in English,' Tyndale continues, 'then should every man see how that he [More] then was far otherwise minded than he now writeth.'² Though More did not regard this charge as worthy of notice in his final defence of his controversial works, he had been compelled by the very method of his *Confutation* to reply to it there. Quoting Tyndale's words, he comments as follows: 'If this be true, then the more cause have I to thank God of amendment. But surely this is [un]true.'³ For, God be thanked! I never had

¹Tyndale's Works, ii, 200.

²Op. cit., iii, 16.

³The negative, required by the sense, I have not found in any copy of the *Works* (422). Bridgett, quoting the passage, prints 'not true.' The original edition of the *Confutation* reads 'vntrew.'

that mind in my life to have holy saints' images or their holy relics out of reverence. Nor, if there were any such thing in *Moria*, that thing could not yet make any man see that I were myself of that mind, the book being made by another man, though he were my darling never so dear. Howbeit, that book of *Moria* doth indeed but jest upon the abuses of such things, after the manner of the disour's part in a play'. More was conscious that he had not been inconsistent either in his beliefs or in his intentions. But he was learning that jests might be mistaken, and that criticisms of abuses within an institution might be wrested by enemies into criticisms of the institution itself. Few facts about More are more solidly established than his scorn for wealth and his devotion to what he believed to be the truth. Yet this charge of inconsistency was first brought by an opponent who did not scruple to say that More had been bribed by the clergy to defend doctrines that he really regarded as false. It has been kept alive chiefly by the process of interpreting the *Utopia* in ways that More himself would never have sanctioned. Since the criticism was not included in the *Apology*, it will be sufficient here to remark that during the past forty years both Catholic and Protestant writers have convincingly demonstrated the essential consistency of More's life.¹

The criticisms that More did include in the *Apology* were those that had been urged broadly against all his

¹The difference that is discernible between More's earlier and later writings is a difference, not in principle, but in emphasis; and it is sufficiently explained by what had happened during the intervening years. Had the Catholic faith in England been threatened in 1515 as it was in 1529, no such difference would have been discernible. The broadest treatment of the question of More's consistency is by Professor R. W. Chambers. For typical modern views ranging from perplexity over the supposed inconsistency, and attempts to account for it, to perception of the consistency, see Lee, 62; Potter, 183; P. Smith, 91-2; Berdan, 278; Brémond, 106-8; Gairdner, *Lollardy*, i, 507; Bridgett, *Life*, 271-2; Campbell, [63]-[65]; Reed, [5]-[6], *Sir Thomas More*, 135-6, 138-40; Knox, 41-4; Jarrett, 110; Chambers, *Saga*, 14-15, 22-43, 48-51.

controversial work. Our best approach to them, therefore, will be by way of a review of that work; and we may pause for a moment to note how he came to undertake it. Though Lutheran doctrines had found a foothold here and there in England shortly after 1520, there was comparatively little cause for alarm during the first half of the decade. But after the publication of Tyn-dale's translation of the New Testament and his later *Parable of the Wicked Mammon* it became apparent that episcopal prohibition was an entirely inadequate method of meeting these doctrines. It was then that More's friend, Cuthbert Tunstall, Bishop of London, urged upon him the duty of defending the Catholic faith, and granted him licence to read heretical books for that purpose. The text of this document is as follows:

‘Cuthbertus, permissione divina London. episcopus, clarissimo et egregio viro dom. Thomae More, fratri et amico charissimo, salutem in Domino, et benedictionem. Quia nuper postquam ecclesia Dei per Germaniam ab hæreticis infestata est, inventi sunt nonnulli iniquitatis filii, qui veterem et damnatam hæresim Wycliffianam, et Lutherianam etiam hæresim, Wycliffanæ alumnam, transferendis in nostratam vernaculam linguam corruptissimis quibusque eorum opusculis, atque illis ipsis magna copia impressis, in hanc nostram regionem inducere conantur, quam sane pestilentissimis dogmatibus, catholicæ fidei veritati repugnantibus, maculare atque inficere magnis conatibus moliuntur; magnopere igitur verendum est, ne catholica veritas in totum periclitetur, nisi boni et eruditi viri malignitati tam prædictorum hominum strenue occurrant; id quod nulla ratione melius et aptius fieri potest, quam si in lingua catholica veritas in totum expugnans, hæc insana dogmata simul etiam impressa prodeat in lucem. Quo fiet ut sacram literarum imperiti homines in manus sumentes novos istos hæreticos libros, atque una etiam catholicos ipsos refellentes, vel ipsi per se verum discernere, vel ab aliis, quorum perspicacius est iudicium, recte

admoneri et doceri possint. Et quia tu, frater clarissime in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina Demosthenem quendam præstare potes, et catholicæ veritatis assertor acerrimus in omni congressu esse soles, melius subcisivas horas, si quas tuis occupationibus suffurari potes, collocare nunquam poteris, quam in nostrate lingua aliqua edas, quæ simplicibus et idiotis hominibus subdolan hæreticorum malignitatem aperiant, ac contra tam impios ecclesiæ supplantatores reddant eos instructiores. Habes ad id exemplum quod imiteris præclarissimum illustrissimi domini nostri regis Henrici octavi, qui sacramenta ecclesiæ contra Lutherum totis viribus ea subruentem asserere aggressus, immortale nomen defensoris ecclesiæ in omne ævum promeruit. Et ne antabatarum more cum ejusmodi larvis lucteris, ignorans ipse quod oppugnes, mitto ad te insanas in nostrate lingua istorum nœnias, atque una etiam nonnullos Lutheri libros, ex quibus hæc opinio-num monstra prodierunt. Quibus abs te diligenter perlectis, facilius intelligas, quibus latibulis tortuosi serpentes sese condant, quibusque anfractibus elabi deprehensi studeant. Magni enim ad victoriam momenti est hostium consilia explorata habere, et quid sentiant, quove tendant, penitus nosse. Nam si convellere pares, quæ isti non sensisse dicent, in totum perdas operam. Macte igitur virtute tam sanctum opus aggredere; quo et Dei ecclesiæ prosis, et tibi immortale nomen atque æternam in cælis gloriam pares; quod ut facias, et Dei ecclesiam tuo patrocínio juves, magnopere in Domino obsecramus; atque ad illum finem ejusmodi libros et retinendi et legendi facultatem atque licentiam impertimur et concedimus. Dat. 7. die Martii, A. Dom. M.D.XXVII. et nostræ consecrat. sexto.¹

This selection of Sir Thomas More as the special champion of the Catholic faith against the English heretics was natural, if not inevitable. It is explained,

¹Wilkins, iii, 711-12. The date is often given as 1527 in books that employ the new style; but the 'sexto' shows that it should be 1528, N.S.

though probably not completely, by the reasons that Bishop Tunstall suggests. At a time when anti-clerical feeling was being exploited by the adherents of the new doctrines, and when it was being rumoured that prosecutions for heresy were often retaliatory, it was obviously desirable that a layman should defend the faith. In a sense More was already partly prepared for the duty. He had assisted Henry in the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum*,¹ and under the name of Gulielmus Rosseus he had violently attacked Luther's reply to the King. For a layman he was well read in the writings of the Fathers.² Finally the efficiency with which he had discharged his duties in various offices and embassies, and his high reputation with the citizens of London, the chief seat of the infection, must have been strong arguments.

THE DIALOGUE

MORE must have begun his unpleasant task almost at once. His choice of a literary form was characteristic of the humanist.³ As early as 1505, when Erasmus was his guest, More had translated three of the dialogues of Lucian into Latin; and more than ten years later he cast the first book of the *Utopia* in the form of a long triangular conversation. The use that had already been made of the dialogue by the German reformers may have had some influence,⁴ and at least one of the heretical dialogues in English had come into More's hands. At any rate, he was not slow to perceive the advantages of the form for the work he was now undertaking. The *Dialogue concerning Heresies and*

¹ See note on p. 18, l. 17.

² Stapleton, 16; (Hallett, 37-8; Bridgett, 310-11).

³ Herford (48) describes the *Dialogue* as belonging to 'the less vivacious Ciceronian type'; but Delcourt (35) in reading the work is vividly reminded of Plato. See also Berdan, 399.

⁴ See Herford, 22-48.

Matters of Religion purports to be More's written account of four conversations between himself and a representative sent to him by one of his friends. This friend, we are told, had had long conversations with More on religious questions, had subsequently heard certain heretical opinions defended with some plausibility, and was now eager to know what More could say against these opinions. For this purpose he had sent a trusted agent to More, begging him to give as much of his time as he could spare to discussing with this 'Messenger' all of the perplexing arguments. After the Messenger's departure More, reflecting that their conversations had been too long to be reported accurately from memory, and unwilling that his friend should be misinformed on such important questions, resolved to write out his own account of what had been said and send it to his friend. Still later, on learning that his account had circulated in manuscript and had been copied, and that one copy had already been sent abroad, More, fearing the effect of mangled versions and deliberate garbling, decided to anticipate them by publication. The fictitious framework¹ is carefully preserved throughout the four books. The conversations take place in More's study and garden at Chelsea and are interrupted by dinner, not without a playful glance at the inadvisability of being late at Lady More's table. The speeches are regularly identified by the parenthetical phrases 'quoth he' or 'quoth your friend' and 'quoth I'. So frequent was this repetition that Tyndale gave to the *Dialogue* the title *Quoth I, and quoth he, and quoth your friend*, and sarcastically bestowed the last of these phrases upon the Messenger as a nickname.² More's interlocutor professes to be orthodox, but thoroughly perplexed by certain heretical arguments. He is therefore invited to

¹ Gairdner (*Lollardy*, i, 511-12) suggests that the framework may not be fictitious.

² Tyndale's Works, ii, 297; iii, 20. 'Ro. Ba.' (95) states that the *Dialogue* was 'commonly called, *Quoth he* and *Quoth I*.'

state those arguments as accurately as possible, and so successfully does he avail himself of this invitation that some of the heretical positions are more clearly and plausibly developed under More's hand than they had been by the heretics themselves. This part of the work, which must have had for More something of the interest of an exercise in mental agility, did not fail to cause him certain misgivings. We learn from the Preface that More had anxiously submitted the *Dialogue* to men 'better learned than myself'—amongst others, we may be sure, to his friend Bishop Tunstall, at whose suggestion it had been undertaken—and that one of the special reasons for this action was 'the liberal allegations of the Messenger for the wrong part, so laid out at large that of myself I stood half in a doubt whether it were convenient to rehearse the words of any man so homely, and in manner sometime unreverently spoken against God's holy hallows and their reverent memories.'¹ The form in which the *Dialogue* was finally published, therefore, must have had, unofficially at least, the episcopal sanction. The men 'better learned than myself' must have realized with More that the success of the work would depend largely on that very liberalness in the allegations for the wrong part; and their sanction was no slight compliment to the success of More's refutation.

The substance of the *Dialogue* was practically determined by the heresies that for ten years had been filtering into England from Germany, and for a year or two, since the importation of Tyndale's New Testament, had been gaining an alarming hold in the district around London. Against the Messenger's repeated attacks More defends the practice of praying to saints, reverencing their images and relics, and making pilgrimages to their shrines, the authenticity of miracles, the infallibility of the Catholic Church, and its absolute authority as the divinely guided interpreter of scripture and

¹ *Works*, 106.

preserver of unwritten tradition. The clergy of England is vindicated from the slanderous charges that had grown out of the cases of Thomas Bilney¹ and Richard Hunne;² and the laws for the trial and punishment of heretics are ably defended. In justifying the celibacy of the clergy More takes one of many occasions to condemn the writings of Luther and Tyndale. Luther is the arch-heretic; Tyndale's 'books be nothing else in effect but the worst heresies picked out of Luther's works'.³ This relationship More insists upon constantly, though he frequently points out that in some respects—especially in the attack upon the Blessed Sacrament—the pupil has far outstripped his master. Of Tyndale's books, *The Parable of the Wicked Mammon* and *The Obedience of a Christian Man*⁴ are mentioned by name, and sharply criticized in detail. Here More selects for attack many of the fifty-four heresies and errors that were collected from these books by the bishops.⁵ Several chapters are devoted to the criticism of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. Here again the Lutheran influence was obvious.⁶ Whoso calleth it the New Testament, More remarks, 'calleth it by a wrong name'; they ought rather to 'call it Tyndale's Testament, or Luther's Testament'.⁷ The grounds for this criticism will receive some brief consideration later. It will be sufficient here to remark that More, having established the Lutheran influence in Tyndale's translation, has to consider the Messenger's complaint that the clergy have not corrected that translation. His answer in effect is that the faults in Tyndale's version are so many and so evenly

¹ See note on p. 105, l. 12.

² See note on p. 142, l. 20.

³ *Works*, 228.

⁴ In his consideration of the political influence of this book Professor Pollard remarks that 'its inspiration may be traced in every act of parliament that led up to the royal supremacy.' See his *Wolsey*, 358-9.

⁵ Wilkins, iii, 728-9; Foxe, 570-82.

⁶ See note on p. 13, l. 30.

⁷ *Works*, 220.

distributed throughout the work that to correct them would be comparable to sewing up the holes in a net. It would be almost as easy, and far more satisfactory, to have a new version made under the supervision of the clergy; and More feels confident that such a version is soon to be undertaken.

The *Dialogue*, the only one of More's controversial works to require a second edition during his lifetime,¹ still remains the most readable of those works. Its argument is the most brilliant; its method is the most characteristic. I have therefore reserved three or four passages of considerable length, which serve to illustrate characteristics that are not fully expressed in the *Apology*, for consecutive presentation in this place. In the first of these passages the Messenger is raising doubts about the canonized saints:

'How can I, quoth he, be sure thereof? May the taking up of a man's bones, and setting his carcass in a gay shrine, and then kissing his bare scalp, make a man a saint? And yet are there some unshrined, for no man wotteth where they lie; and some that men doubt whether ever they had any body at all or not. But marry, to recompense that withal, there be some again that have two bodies to lend one to some good fellow that lacketh. For, as I said before, some one body lieth whole in two places far asunder—or else the monks of the one be beguiled. For both the places plainly affirm that it lieth there. And at either place they show the shrine. And in the shrine they show a body, which they say is the body, and boldly bide thereby that it is it, alleging old writing, and miracles also, for the proof. Now must we confess that either miracles at the one place be false or done by the devil, or else that the same saint had two bodies indeed. And then were that in my mind as great

¹The second edition is dated 1530 on the title page and 1531 in the colophon. An admirable abstract of the *Dialogue* is given in Gairdner's *Lollardy*, i, 543-78; and a facsimile of the text in More's *Works* is now available.

a miracle as the greatest of them all. And therefore is it likely somewhere a bone worshipped for a relic of some holy saint, that was peradventure a bone, as Chaucer saith, of some holy Jew's sheep.¹

The preceding passage is not by any means an extreme case of the 'liberal allegations' of the Messenger. His doubts are here confined to questions of identity and canonization. In answering them, in repelling a more fundamental attack upon the practice of praying to saints, and in defending the use of images, More is at his best. The following passage, dealing with the last of these questions, and rising to the devotional mood, recalls More's statement that he had never in his life wished to 'have holy saints' images . . . out of reverence.'

'I would also fain wit whether these heretics will be content that the blessed name of Jesus be had in honour and reverence or not. If not, then need we no more to show what wretches they be, which dare despise that holy name that the devil trembleth to hear of. And on the other side, if they agree that the name of Jesus is to be revered and had in honour, then sith that name of Jesus is nothing else but a word which by writing or by voice representeth unto the hearer the person of our Saviour Christ, fain would I wit of these heretics, if they give honour to the name of our Lord, which name is but an image representing His person to man's mind and imagination, why and with what reason can they despise a figure of Him, carved or painted, which representeth Him and His acts far more plain and more expressly?'²

'But I suppose neither scripture nor natural reason doth forbid that a man may do some reverence to an image, not fixing his final intent in the image, but referring it further to the honour of the person that the

¹ *Works*, 190.

² *Works*, 114. This quotation and the next are from one of the passages that first appeared in the second edition (Delcourt, 381; Campbell, [11]).

image representeth, sith that in such reverence done unto the image there is none honour withdrawn neither from God nor good man, but both the saint honoured in his image, and God in His saint. When a mean man and an ambassador to a great king hath much honour done him, to whom doth that honour redound? to the ambassador or to the king?

‘When a man at the receipt of his prince’s letter putteth off his cap and kisseth it, doth he this reverence to the paper or to his prince?

‘In good faith, to say the truth, these heretics rather trifle than reason in this matter. For where they say that images be but laymen’s books, they cannot yet say nay but that they be necessary if they were but so. Howbeit, methinketh that they be good books, both for laymen and for the learned too. For, as I somewhat said unto you before, all the words that be either written or spoken be but images representing the things that the writer or speaker conceiveth in his mind, likewise as the figure of the thing framed with imagination, and so conceived in the mind, is but an image representing the very thing itself that a man thinketh on. As for ensample, if I tell you a tale of my good friend your master, the imagination that I have of him in my mind is not your master himself but an image that representeth him. And when I name you him, his name is neither himself nor yet the figure of him, which figure is in mine imagination, but only an image representing to you the imagination of my mind.

‘Now if I be too far from you to tell it you, then is the writing not the name itself but an image representing the name. And yet all these names spoken, and all these words written, be no natural signs or images but only made by consent and agreement of men to betoken and signify such thing; whereas images painted, graven, or carved, may be so well wrought and so near to the quick and to the truth that they shall naturally and much more effectually represent the thing than shall the name either

spoken or written. For he that never heard the name of your master shall, if ever he saw him, be brought in a rightful remembrance of him by his image well wrought and touched to the quick. And surely, saving that men cannot do it, else if it might commodiously be done, there were not in this world so effectual writing as were to express all thing in imagery. . . . But now, as I began to say, sith all names spoken or written be but images, if ye set aught by the name of Jesus spoken or written, why should ye set naught by His image painted or carven that representeth His holy person to your remembrance as much—and more too—as doth His name written? Nor these two words, *Christus crucifixus*, do not so lively represent us the remembrance of His bitter passion as doth a blessed image of the crucifix—neither to layman nor unto a learned.¹

‘And albeit that every good Christian man hath a remembering of Christ’s passion in his mind, and conceiveth by devout meditation a form and fashion thereof in his heart, yet is there no man, I ween, so good nor so well learned, nor in meditation so well accustomed, but that he findeth himself more moved to pity and compassion upon the beholding of the holy crucifix than when he lacketh it.’²

One of the most interesting passages in the *Dialogue*—a long discussion of miracles—begins with a quasi-judicial consideration of the credibility of witnesses:

‘But now, therefore, first where they say that they never saw any of these miracles themselves, and therefore the miracles be no proof to them, . . . they seem either very negligent (if they nothing inquire when they mistrust and doubt of the truth in such a weighty matter), or if they have diligently made ensearch, then must it needs be that they have heard of so many told and rehearsed by the mouths and the writing of so good and credible persons that they seem unreasonably

¹ *Works*, 116-17.

² *Works*, 121.

suspicious if they think altogether lies that so many true men, or men like to be true, so faithfully do report. If these men were judges, few matters would take end at their hand; or at the least the plaintiff should have evil speed if they would believe nothing but that were proved, nor reckon nothing proved but that they see themselves.

‘Thus may every man reckon himself unsure of his own father if he believe no man, or because all the proof thereof standeth but upon one woman, and that upon her which, though she can tell best, yet, if it be wrong, hath greatest cause to lie. . . .

‘Sir, quoth your friend, . . . as it is reason that I should believe honest men in all such things as may be true, and wherein I see no cause why they should lie, so were it against all reason to believe men—be they never so many, seem they never so credible—whereas reason and nature (of which twain every one is alone more credible than they all) sheweth me plainly that their tale is untrue . . . And thereby must I needs know that if they can take no profit by lying, they lie not for any covetise, but even only for their special pleasure.

‘Forsooth, quoth I, this is right merrily answered. . . . But sith this thing is much material, as whereupon many great things do depend, we shall not so shortly shake it off. . . . And first I will say to them that it were hard for them, and not very sure, to believe that every man lieth which telleth the[m] a tale for true that reason and nature seemeth to show them to be false and impossible. . . . If there were a man of Inde that never came out of his country, nor never had seen any white man or woman in his life, and sith he seeth innumerable people black, he might ween that it were against the nature of man to be white. Now if he shall, because nature seemeth to show him so, believe therefore that all the world lied if they would say the contrary, who were in the wrong? he that believeth his reason and nature, or they that against his persuasion of reason and nature shall tell him as it is of truth?

‘Your friend answered that reason and nature told not the man of Inde that all men should be black, but he believed so against reason and against nature, for he had nothing to lead him to it but because himself saw no white, which was no reason. . . .

‘Well, quoth I, and yet he cometh to his persuasion by a syllogism and reasoning almost as formal as is the argument by which ye prove the kind of man reasonable, whereof what other collection have you that brought you first to perceive it than that this man is reasonable, and this man, and this man, and this man, and so forth, all whom ye see. By ensample whereof by them whom ye know, presuming thereby no man to be otherwise, ye conclude that every man is reasonable. And he thinketh himself surer in his argument than he thinketh you in yours. For he saw never other but black people, where ye see many men fools. . . . Or who would not ween it impossible, but if experience had proved it, that the whole earth hangeth in the air, and men walk foot against foot, and ships sail bottom against bottom?—a thing so strange, and seeming so far against nature and reason that Lactantius . . . reckoneth it for impossible, and letteth not to laugh at the philosophers for affirming of that point, which is yet now founden true by experience of them that have in less than two years sailed the world round about. . . .

‘As a good fellow and friend of mine late in talking of this matter of marvels and miracles, intending merely to make me believe for a truth a thing that could never be, first brought in what a force the fire hath that will make two pieces of iron able to be joined, . . . which thing because I daily see, I assented. Then said he further that it was more marvel that the fire shall make iron to run as silver or lead doth, and make it take a print. Which thing I told him I had never seen, but because he said he had seen it, I thought it to be true. Soon after this he would have me to believe that he had seen a piece of silver of two or three inches about, and

in length less than a foot, drawn by man's hand through straight holes made in an iron, till it was brought in thickness not half an inch about, and in length drawn out I cannot tell how many yards. And when I heard him say that he saw this himself, then I wist well he was merrily disposed.

'Marry, quoth your friend, it was high time to give him over when he came to that.

'Well, said I, what if I should tell you now that I had seen the same?

'By my faith, quoth he merrily, I would believe it at leisure when I had seen the same, and in the mean while I could not let you to say your pleasure in your own house, but I would think that ye were disposed merrily to make me a fool.'

Still concerned with the fundamental question of the credibility of witnesses, and at the same time approaching a broader conception of the miraculous, More relates greater wonders of the silversmith's art, but remarks that the Messenger would probably not believe these even if ten 'good honest men' should corroborate them.

'No, quoth he, not if twenty should.

'What if an hundred would, quoth I, that seem good and credible?

'If they were, quoth he, ten thousand, they were not of credence with me when they should tell me that they saw the thing that myself knoweth by nature and reason impossible. For when I know it could not be done, I know well that they lie all, be they never so many that say they saw it done.

'Well, quoth I, sith I see well ye would not in this point believe a whole town, ye have put me to silence, that I dare not now be bold to tell you that I have seen it myself. But surely if witness would have served me, I ween I might have brought you a great many good men that would say, and swear too, that they have seen it themselves. But now shall I provide me tomorrow, peradventure, a couple of witness of whom I wot well ye will mistrust neither.

‘Who be they?’ quoth he. For it were hard to find whom I could better trust than yourself, whom, whatsoever I have merrily said, I could not in good faith but believe you in that you should tell me earnestly upon your own knowledge. But ye use, my master saith, to look so sadly when ye mean merrily that many times men doubt whether ye speak in sport when ye mean good earnest.

‘In good faith, quoth I, I mean good earnest now; and yet as well as ye dare trust me, I shall, as I said, if ye will go with me, provide a couple of witness of whom ye will believe anyone better than twain of me, for they be your near friends, and ye have been better acquainted with them, and such as, I dare say for them, be not often wont to lie.

‘Who be they, quoth he, I pray you?’

‘Marry, quoth I, your own two eyen; for I shall, if you will, bring you where ye shall see it—no farther hence than even here in London. . . .

‘Marry, sir, quoth he, these witness indeed will not lie, as the poor man said by the priest, if I may be homely to tell you a merry tale by the way—

‘A merry tale, quoth I, cometh never amiss to me.

‘The poor man, quoth he, had found the priest over-familiar with his wife. And because he spake it abroad and could not prove it, the priest sued him before the bishop’s official for defamation; where the poor man upon pain of cursing was commanded that in his parish church he should upon the Sunday at high mass time stand up and say, “Mouth, thou liest.” Whereupon for fulfilling of his penance, up was the poor soul set in a pew, that the people might wonder on him and hear what he said. And there, all aloud, when he had rehearsed what he had reported by the priest, then he set his hands on his mouth and said, “Mouth, mouth, thou liest.” And by and by thereupon he set his hand upon both his eyen and said, “But eyen, eyen,” quoth he, “by the mass, ye lie not a whit.”’¹

¹ *Works*, 124-7.

During the discussion the Messenger objects that God can do nothing contrary to the laws of nature. After attacking this objection at some length More suggests that nothing but daily familiarity prevents us from regarding the processes of nature as miraculous.

‘And first, if men should tell you that they saw before an image of the crucifix a dead man raised to life, ye would much marvel thereof, and so might ye well; yet could I tell you somewhat that I have seen myself that methinketh as great marvel—but I have no lust to tell you because that ye be so circumspect and wary in belief of any miracles that ye would not believe it for me, but mistrust me for it.

‘Nay, sir, quoth he, in good faith if a thing seemed me never so far unlikely, yet if ye would earnestly say that yourself have seen it, I neither would nor could mistrust it.

‘Well, quoth I, then ye make me the bolder to tell you. And yet will I tell you nothing but that I would, if need were, find you good witness to prove it.

‘It shall not need, sir, quoth he. But I beseech you, let me hear it.

‘Forsooth, quoth I,—because we speak of a man raised from death to life—there was in the parish of Saint Stephen’s in Walbrook in London, where I dwelled before I came¹ to Chelsea, a man and a woman which are yet quick and quething, and young were they both. The eldest, I am sure, passeth not twenty-four. It happed them, as doth among young folk, the one to cast the mind to the other. And after many lets—for the maiden’s mother was much against it—at last they came together and were married in Saint Stephen’s Church, which is not greatly famous for any miracles, but yet yearly on Saint Stephen’s day it is somewhat sought unto and visited with folk’s devotion. But now, short tale to make, this young woman (as manner is in brides, ye wot well) was at night brought to bed with

¹The 1557 text has ‘come’.

honest women. And then, after that, went the bridegroom to bed, and everybody went their ways and left them twain there alone. And the same night . . . or some other time soon after except—it happened a little afore—

‘No force for the time, quoth he.

‘Truth, quoth I; and as for the matter, all the parish will testify for truth, the woman was knowen for so honest. But, for the conclusion, the seed of them twain turned in the woman’s body, first into blood, and after into shape of man-child, and then waxed quick, and she great therewith, and was within the year delivered of a fair boy; and forsooth it was not then (for I saw it myself) passing the length of a foot. And I am sure he is grown now an inch longer than I.

‘How long is it ago? quoth he.

‘By my faith, quoth I, about twenty-one years.

‘Tush! quoth he, this is a worthy miracle.

‘In good faith, quoth I, never wist I that any man could tell that he had any other beginning. And methinketh that this is as great a miracle as the raising of a dead man.

‘If it seem so, quoth he, to you, then have you a marvellous seeming; for I ween it seemeth so to no man else.

‘No? quoth I. Can ye tell me what is the cause? None other, sure, but that the acquaintance and daily beholding taketh away the wondering—as we nothing wonder at the ebbing and flowing of the sea . . . If a man born blind had suddenly his sight, what wonder would he make to see the sun, the moon, and the stars! whereas one that hath seen them sixteen year together marvelleth not so much of them all as he would wonder at the first sight of a peacock’s tail. And very cause can I see none why we should of reason more marvel of the reviving of a dead man than of the breeding, bringing forth, and growing of a child unto the state of a man.’¹

This last paragraph may vaguely recall Plato’s

¹ *Works*, 131-2.

Republic. The whole discussion repeatedly, and more definitely, anticipates Carlyle's 'Natural Supernaturalism.' All of the passages taken together reveal the sudden change of mood that is characteristic of More. Close argument, whimsical illustration, unexpected turns, deep earnestness, and occasional laughter give to the work a delightful variety. To this effect the Messenger contributes something. He appears, indeed, to be more than a puppet. As soon as one of his objections is satisfactorily disposed of he returns stubbornly to the attack with another; and when he is finally satisfied upon a disputed point, it is by a process of reasoning rather than an *ipse dixit*.

THE SUPPLICATION OF SOULS

THE heretical book that was next to occupy More's attention, Simon Fish's *Supplication for the Beggars*, probably appeared shortly before the *Dialogue*.¹ Cardinal Gasquet describes Fish's pamphlet as 'the most celebrated and perhaps most dangerous attack against the religious orders made in the early sixteenth century.'² And More himself would scarcely have helped to make such a pamphlet more celebrated had he not been convinced of its danger. That danger did not lie in the violence of this diatribe against the clergy, which might perhaps have been left to die of its own exaggeration; it lay partly in Fish's use of what purported to be statistics and in the deductions based thereon, and partly in his attack on the doctrine of purgatory. The dishonest statistics supported the conclusion that far more than half of the whole substance of the realm was in the hands of the clergy,³ and this conclusion was

¹ See Arber's reprint, pp. viii-ix, and the note on p. 84, l. 33.

² *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, i. 32.

³ 'Ley then these sommes to the forseid therd part of the possessions of the realme, that ye may se whether it drawe nighevnto the half of the hole substaunce of the realme or not: So shall ye finde that it draweth ferre aboue.' (p: 4.)

advanced as the explanation of the great number of beggars in the kingdom. The remedy proposed was the confiscation of ecclesiastical possessions. No laws could be passed that would relieve this evil, Fish asserted, for the clergy were too powerful in Parliament—more powerful, in fact, than the King himself. This insinuation was obviously inserted for the special benefit of Henry, to whom the pamphlet was addressed. Whatever may be the truth in Foxe's well-known anecdotes¹ of the King's reception of the pamphlet, he was not unwilling that it should circulate; in fact he seems to have hoped that by its influence his people might be prepared for the ecclesiastical revolution that he was already contemplating.² In this hope the Defender of the Faith was quite willing to overlook Fish's attack on the doctrine of purgatory.

Sir Thomas More was of a different opinion. The *Supplication for the Beggars* was scattered broadcast in London early in 1529; More's answer appeared later in the same year. Fish's pamphlet, cast in the form of a petition from the beggars themselves, had especially attacked the endowments for masses for the souls of the dead; More's answer, also in the form of a petition, purported to come from the souls in purgatory, for whose sake those endowments had been founded. The *Supplication for the Beggars* had been addressed 'To the King our Sovereign Lord'; *The Supplication of Souls* was addressed 'To all Good Christian People'. In many respects, though not, unfortunately, in respect of brevity,³ the form of Fish's pamphlet influenced the form of More's reply. It is not very surprising, therefore, to hear the souls echo satirically two passages of Fish's rhetoric. But, as Bridgett has remarked, 'we are rather startled when, in More's pages, the souls begin to

¹ Foxe, iv, 657.

² See Gairdner, *English Church*, 125-6, *Lollardy*, i, 308; and Creighton, *D. N. B.*, art. *Fish*.

³ More's answer is about ten times as long as Fish's pamphlet.

relate merry tales and to make jokes. In fact, in one place they go so far that they have to apologize to their readers: "Surely," they say, "we cannot but here confess the truth, these nice and wanton words do not very well with us; but we must pray God and you to pardon us, for, in good faith, his matter of monks' marriages¹ is so merry and so mad, that it were able to make one laugh that lieth in the fire."'²

The Supplication of Souls is in two parts. The first of these is aimed directly at the various slanderous charges that Fish had repeated. Here More attacks the gross errors in the figures that had formed the basis of Fish's computations. The sweeping charges against the clergy More treats in his usual manner, by pointing out the injustice of laying the faults of the wicked upon the entire body. The more specific accusations against Doctor Horsey and his assistants More refutes in a brief review of the Hunne case, which he had already discussed at length in his *Dialogue*. The second part of the *Supplication* is devoted to an argument, based on both reason and scripture, for the truth of the doctrine of purgatory,³ and for the justification of prayers for the souls of the dead. The souls more than once refer to Fish as 'the beggars' proctor'; from the year of the publication of the *Supplication* More is nicknamed 'the proctor of purgatory'.

THE CONFUTATION

TYNDALE, meanwhile, was far from idle. His *Practice of Prelates*, the most bitter and the least happy of his works, appeared in 1530. Though not directed against More, it contained false accusations against him, and its principal purpose, the discrediting of the authority of the Church, might easily be construed

¹Fish (7, 14) had advocated the abolition of celibacy.

²Bridgett (*Life*, 285) quoting More's *Works*, 306-7.

³This argument is summarized in the note on p. 96, l. 13.

as a partial reply to the *Dialogue*.¹ A more direct reply to More's work, however, was occupying Tyndale's energy during this same year.² His *Answer unto Sir Thomas More's Dialogue* appeared in the spring of 1531. After a scornful preface, written with considerable force, Tyndale proceeds first to a defence of the words that More had criticized in the translation of the New Testament, and then to an attack on the fundamental arguments for the infallibility of the Church and the authority of its unwritten traditions.³ In this part of the *Answer* Tyndale also devotes much space to a renewal of his assault upon the worship of the Blessed Sacrament, the worship of images and reverencing of the relics of saints, the making of pilgrimages, and in general upon what he calls the 'abuse of ceremonies'. The remainder of the *Answer*, about two-thirds of the book, is aimed at the *Dialogue*, chapter by chapter.⁴ It has none of the completeness that characterized More's controversial work. If More's chapter could not be satisfactorily refuted, Tyndale was not unwilling to dismiss it with a scoff. In his own opinion, it would seem, the first third of his book was the most important part. And More was so far from disagreeing with this opinion that he could speak, in the *Apology*, of Tyndale's having 'made all his work' upon eight chapters of the

¹ It contains two or three references to the *Dialogue*. More is described as 'one nothing inferior unto his master [Wolsey] in lying, feigning, and bearing two faces in one hood;' again, he is said to have 'ever been a false liar'; and finally he is obviously intended, though not named, among 'them which for lucre, as Judas, betray the truth, and write against their consciences'. Tyndale's Works, ii, 335, 340, 343.

² Demaus, 290.

³ One of these chapters is quoted in the *Apology*, pp. 19-20 below.

⁴ There are exceptions to this method. Some chapters are omitted, apparently as coming under the earlier argument. Many are given only brief passing comment. The difference between the methods of Tyndale and those of More is, in part, the difference between attack and defence. But Tyndale's methods were strategically the more effective with a popular audience, many of whom were certain to complain of the length of More's works.

Dialogue, alluding, of course, to the fundamental attack, which had taken up the first third of the *Answer*.

That attack challenged More to defend his position. The first part of his *Confutation of Tyndale's Answer*, in three books, was published in the spring of the following year; the second part, in five books, in 1533. More's preface contains an interesting review of the great number of heretical books that had appeared during the years immediately preceding, and an account of some of the English heretics that ought to be printed in the margins of Foxe's *Acts and Monuments*. In his first book, which is devoted to the consideration of Tyndale's preface, More shows that fairness that especially distinguished his controversial work, by presenting to his readers the exact text of Tyndale. With few exceptions, indeed, he follows this method throughout the *Confutation*. In the second book the criticisms of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament are restated at great length. These criticisms are especially concerned with six words that recurred frequently in that translation. Thus More accused Tyndale of substituting *congregation* for *church*, *seniors* (afterwards changed to *elders*)¹ for *priests*, *repentance* for *penance*, *knowledge* for *confession*, *love* for *charity*, and *favour* for *grace*. In view of the published writings of Luther and Tyndale, More was undoubtedly justified in seeing, in the first four changes, attacks, respectively, upon the authority of the Catholic Church, upon the sacraments of Orders and Penance, and upon auricular confession. In the fifth change More found a desire to suggest the Lutheran doctrine of justification by faith, and to discredit the Catholic doctrine of good works. In the sixth change More saw not only the attempt that Tyndale had in fact

¹ In the *Dialogue* More had criticized Tyndale's use of the word *senior*; in his *Answer* (Works, iii, 16) Tyndale had admitted that '*senior* is no very good English', but had added, 'I spied my fault since, long ere M. More told it me, and have mended it in all the works which I since made, and call it *an elder*.'

openly acknowledged, to efface certain distinctions of Catholic theology,¹ but also an insinuation of the Lutheran denial of free will. It is, of course, quite beyond the scope of this sketch to examine in detail More's arguments;² but some slight hint may be given for the sake of illustrating, however inadequately, his position. In view of Tyndale's repeated contention that the Catholic Church was not the church of Christ, it was apparent to More that the repeated use of the word *congregation* was not accidental. He justly contended that Tyndale's substitution had no Christian connotation, but was applicable alike to Turks and Jews. This was the very word, in fact, that had been applied by Parliament to the assemblies of Lollards, which had been described as dangerous both to Church and state.³ But besides these words, and a few alleged mistranslations that he did not regard as negligible, there were two other reasons for his hostility to Tyndale's version. That version was printed in two forms: in quarto, with glosses; and in octavo, without marginal comment. More apparently had received a copy of the former. Its glosses were not violent; but to More they must have seemed significant. Opposite Matthew, xv, 13, for instance, Tyndale had printed: 'Tradicions of men muste fayle att the last: gods word bydeth ever.' The sentence might have been written by a devout Catholic; in Tyndale's translation it was a passing shot at the traditions of the Church. The final reason for More's hostility to Tyndale's translation lay in the fact that the burning of it had been one of the chief causes of complaint in the more violent of the heretical pamphlets—in 'the devilish *Dialogue of the Father and the Son*, and the blasphemous book of *The Burying of the Mass*'.⁴ The

¹For Tyndale's statement see his *Works*, iii, 22; for More's explanation of the distinctions see his *Confutation* (*Works*, 435-6).

²For further discussion and illustrative quotations see the notes on p. 11, l. 2; p. 13, l. 30.

³*Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 181; Ruffhead, i, 493.

⁴See the note on p. 11, l. 7.

bitterness with which the heretics complained of the burning would alone have convinced More of the heretical intent of the translation.

The next five books of the *Confutation* are devoted chiefly to a long and elaborate defence of the Church and its claim to infallibility, whether in the interpretation of scripture or in the preservation of tradition. In the eighth book More turns aside from the task of confuting Tyndale's *Answer* to attack a short pamphlet by Robert Barnes,¹ entitled *What the Church Is*. Barnes's position may be illustrated by the following sentence: 'Where the word of God is truly and perfectly preached without the damnable dreams of men, and where it is well of the hearers received, and also where we see good works that do openly agree with the doctrine of the gospel, these be good and sure tokens whereby we may judge that there be some men of holy church.'² Barnes denies that the Catholic Church is the church of Christ, and that it is infallible. Its traditions he characterizes in the sentence just quoted as 'the damnable dreams of men'. Its bishops, if not its entire clergy, he characterizes as 'the greatest enemies that holy church could have in earth'.³ His views, therefore, though not identical with Tyndale's, were sufficiently similar to be considered conveniently in the *Confutation*. This eighth book, however, reveals a slight change in tone. More had come to recognize in Tyndale an opponent of no mean ability. But he does not conceal from his readers that he has a very different opinion of Barnes. 'Surely,' he remarks, 'notwithstanding that a man might ween that Tyndale were in . . . fond scoffing peerless, yet doth Friar Barnes as far outrun him in railing as he draggeth behind him in reasoning'.⁴ The ninth and last book of

¹ See the note on p. 2, l. 12.

² Barnes's *Works*, 249.

³ *Ibid.*, 242. It is not always easy to distinguish the precise object of Barnes's railing. More was accused by Barnes of misrepresenting his attitude. See the note on p. 47, l. 22.

⁴ *Works*, 735.

the *Confutation* is a summary of More's defence of the Church.¹

THE REPLY TO FRITH

IN 1532, while More was at work upon the *Confutation*, John Frith,² one of the ablest of the men who had devoted themselves to Protestantism, was imprisoned in the Tower on a charge of heresy. Frith had suffered a previous imprisonment for the same cause a few years before this, while he was at Oxford, and had been released at Wolsey's request upon condition that he should not go farther than ten miles from that town.³ Taking advantage of this release, he had fled to the Continent, joined Tyndale, and taken up his pen in the great controversy. His attack upon the doctrine of purgatory was divided into three books, aimed respectively at Rastell, More, and the Bishop of Rochester. That More intended to reply to this work we know from a passage in the preface of the *Confutation*.⁴ Heretical

¹The ninth book was obviously intended as the conclusion of the second part of the *Confutation*. Indeed from the way the end of the eighth book was set up one might infer that there was still an expectation that another book was to be added. If the ninth book was ever actually completed the last part of the manuscript must have been lost. In the edition of 1557, where it was first printed, it breaks off in the middle of a sentence, and Rastell adds the following note: 'There can be no more found of this . ix . booke wrytten by Syr Thomas More.' (*Works*, 832.)

²See the notes on p. 100.

³Foxe, v, 5.

⁴In writing of Frith's 'treatise against Purgatory' Canon Dixon made the unfortunate remark (i, 164) that 'More, who feared few adversaries, allowed it to pass in silence.' This unpleasant and altogether misleading implication is, of course, utterly inconsistent with what we know either of More's character or of his writings. The apologist who had grappled with Luther and Tyndale could not fear to face Frith. That he did not is sufficiently proved by his answer to another of Frith's pamphlets. In a footnote Canon Dixon suggested that More might have been unable to obtain a copy of Frith's work 'within a time when an answer might have been expected.' This suggestion, though more charitable, is

books were multiplying rapidly, however, and they could not all be answered at once. Frith himself, during the greater part of his imprisonment in the Tower, was busily writing against the Catholic faith. Of three pamphlets that came from his pen in close succession More selected for reply Frith's exposition of his views on the Holy Eucharist. In this 'first little treatise', as he afterwards called it, Frith attacked the doctrine of transubstantiation, and asserted that in any case it ought not to be regarded as a necessary article of faith.¹

Although More apparently felt that he could afford to postpone his reply to Frith's 'Book of Purgatory', he decided that he must at once answer the attack on the Blessed Sacrament. This attack, it is true, had not been printed; but that it was circulating widely may be inferred from More's statement that three copies in manuscript had come into his hands. His answer took the form of a letter to a friend, who is represented as having sent him a copy of Frith's treatise.² It is devoted partly to a refutation of the 'natural reasons' that Frith had urged against the doctrine of transubstantiation, and partly to an affirmation of the literal sense of Christ's words as interpreted by the Church. In two respects

scarcely more credible than the original implication. In the Preface to his *Confutation* (*Works*, 255) More glances at Frith's recent work, announces his intention of answering it, and points out that meanwhile it is answered indirectly in that portion of the *Confutation* that is devoted to the infallibility of the Church in matters of faith. For the moment he wisely refused to be distracted from the more fundamental issues; and when, before the end of the year, he found time to reply to Frith, he apparently felt that a defence of the doctrine of transubstantiation, rather than a restatement of the argument on purgatory was the more pressing need. See also p. 195, l. 22 and note on p. 196, l. 12.

¹ Frith's *Works*, 107; Foxe, v, 6.

² *A Letter of Sir Thomas More, Knight, Impugning the Erroneous Writing of John Frith against the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar.* This form, recalling the fictitious framework of the *Dialogue*, was perhaps suggested by the fact that Frith's treatise was written out as a communication to a friend. The *Letter* is dated at Chelsea 'the . vii . day of December,' [1532].

the *Letter* stands out in sharp contrast from More's other controversial works. It is very short; and it is surprisingly mild in tone. The explanation is probably to be found in Frith's character. Among the men who had devoted themselves to the cause of Protestantism, none possessed at the same time such an attractive personality and such distinguished ability as John Frith. As has been remarked, Wolsey appears to have intervened once on his behalf. After he had fled to the Continent, the King hoped that he might be induced to renounce his heresies and return to England.¹ After his second arrest, Bishop Gardiner, whom he had as a young boy attended, and by whom he had been tutored, treated him with 'fatherly favour', and Cranmer made earnest efforts to 'persuade him to leave his imagination'.² To Tyndale, who felt the warmest admiration for him, he was a 'dearly beloved brother'. Surely the character must have been most lovable that could appeal so strongly to such different types of men. It appealed also to More. He cannot forget that Frith is a heretic; but he faces the fact with a deep regret that is far from impersonal.

THE APOLOGY

MORE had finally resigned the chancellorship in May, 1532. Within the next twelve months the second part of the *Confutation*, the *Letter*, and the *Apology* appeared. As we thus approach the period when More composed the defence of his controversial works, we may profitably glance at some of the facts that occasioned it and determined its mood. The King's equivocal attitude toward heretics has already received passing notice.³ As his determination to secure a

¹ *L. & P.*, v, Nos. 248, 246.

² *Apology*, p. 139, l. 37 below; Cranmer's *Letters*, 246.

³ On the one hand there are the royal proclamations of March, 1529, and June, 1530. The text of the former is printed by Foxe (iv, 676-9) and Wilkins (iii, 737-9), both of whom assign it to the year 1530; but

divorce increased, and the likelihood of his succeeding diminished, Henry seems to have considered the possible usefulness of the heretics in promoting the accomplishment of his desires. He was certainly not ready openly to countenance heresy; but apparently he was willing to wink at the heretical productions of certain pens if he could rely upon their being directed against the clergy. Fish, who had published the most slanderous abuse against that body, was granted special protection by the King in spite of the attack on the doctrine of purgatory. Henry's ambassador was instructed to negotiate with Frith. Tyndale, before he opposed the royal divorce in his *Practice of Prelates*, was interviewed at Cromwell's request, and with Henry's approval, in the hope of effecting a similar compromise.¹ Barnes, whose Lutheran tendencies were well known, and whose treatise on the church was to be characterized chiefly by the bitterness of its railing against the prelates, and answered by More as radically heretical, had actually returned from his hiding under the protection of the King's safe-conduct. What was the effect of all this upon More? In the Preface of the *Confutation* he

see Steele, i, 13, No. 114. This proclamation reasserts the more important statutory provisions against heresy, requiring that the Chancellor and many other specified officers 'shall make oath in taking their charge and ministration, to give their whole power and diligence, to put away, and to make utterly to cease and destroy, all manner of heresies and errors, commonly called Lollardies, within the precincts of their offices and administrations, from time to time, with all their power.' (Foxe, iv, 678; and cf. 2 Henry V, stat. 1, c. vii.) Some eight months later More as Chancellor must have taken this oath. On the other hand, there is the evidence of the King's interest in, and protection of, certain heretics, including several who were especially bitter in their attacks upon the clergy. There is the letter in which Bishop Nix, in May, 1530, wrote that many in his diocese were openly saying that the King favoured the heretical books (*L. & P.*, iv, No. 6385). And in the following year, when Stephen Vaughan, negotiating with Tyndale, complained that More was watching him suspiciously, we may see evidence of something more than anxiety about Vaughan's personal belief.

¹For the documents and a discussion see Demaus, 288 ff.

speaks of the return of Barnes, and explains that the King had granted him the safe-conduct 'to the end that if there might yet any spark of grace be founden in him, it might be kept kindled and increased, rather than the man to be cast away.'¹ Gairdner suggests that 'Sir Thomas only puts an interpretation on the king's action which the king himself wished it to bear, and which Sir Thomas hoped he was honest in professing.'² This seems to me to be an accurate statement of More's attitude; but the hopes that he entertained with regard to the Defender of the Faith were not destined to grow brighter. Understanding the King's character as he did, More must have been one of the first to perceive whither the divorce might lead. And this perception seems to be reflected in the emphasis that he lays in his English works upon the King's defence of the sacraments against Luther.³ As the revolt against the papal supremacy loomed more threateningly, More must sometimes have wondered whether it would be accompanied by a toleration of any of those heresies against which he had spent so much effort; and as that possibility tortured him, he took pains again and again to remind the King publicly, as it were, of the work that had seemed to justify the title *Fidei Defensor*.

If the King's treatment of heretics had aroused vague suspicion, his treatment of the clergy had warranted more definite fears. The process of reasoning by which he had found the clergy guilty under the *præmunire* must have appeared to More as preposterous as the conditions under which he was willing to sell them the royal pardon.⁴ The significance of his treatment of Bishop

¹ *Works*, 342. On the same page we also learn that Bayfield and Constantine, returning without the King's safe-conduct, trusted in 'his gracious forgiveness, and had it.' See the notes on p. 98, l. 16 and p. 133, l. 24.

² *English Church*, 126.

³ In such passages as p. 18, ll. 17-20; p. 22, ll. 19-22.

⁴ Gee and Hardy, 176-8; Gairdner, *English Church*, 107-9.

Fisher,¹ who had ventured boldly to oppose the divorce, could not have been lost upon one who shared the Bishop's convictions. As early as 1529, indeed, Henry had quite clearly abandoned the theory of the papal supremacy that he had deliberately set forth eight years before in such unqualified terms as to cause even More to remonstrate.² Three years later he was complaining that the clergy were but half his subjects. His hostility was reflected alike in the Act for the Restraint of Annates and in the Petition of the Commons.³

In the year 1532, when the Petition was presented, there appeared a book, similar to it in tone, and apparently inspired by the same influence, entitled *A Treatise Concerning the Division between the Spirituality and the Temporality*. The author, who did not venture to place his name upon the title page, appears to have been Christopher Saint-German.⁴ He professed to be a Catholic, and to analyse the causes of the division in the hope of effecting a reconciliation. The substance of the book, however, belied the profession of its author. The blame for the division, which, it should be noted, he represents as of recent origin, he lays almost wholly upon the clergy. Ignoring some of the more flagrant vices that were matter of common knowledge, Saint-German proceeds to give an otherwise exhaustive catalogue not only of the actual faults of the clergy but of all the vague rumours of faults that he had ever heard. In so long a list of accusations there were almost necessarily many that were true; but there were certainly some that were exaggerated, some that had nothing to do with the alleged division, and a few that were

¹ Brewer, 347-51.

² See A. F. Pollard, *Wolsey*, 341-2; and the note on p. 18, l. 17.

³ Gee and Hardy, 145-53, 178-86; Gairdner, *English Church*, 113-16.

⁴ See A. F. Pollard, *D. N. B.*, art. *Saint-German*; and the note on p. 4, l. 6. The text of Saint-German's book is printed in the Appendix. Gairdner, I believe, was the first to emphasize the similarity between it and the Petition of the Commons. Parallel passages are indicated in the Notes.

probably without any foundation. Such a book could not fail to injure the cause of the Church in England. It was openly praised, in fact, by the heretics; and yet it was written by a man who professed to be a Catholic.

This profession, especially since it seemed to be borne out by certain other passages, made More reluctant to notice the treatise; and it must have been partly the cause of the peculiar tone of the answer that he finally felt it his duty to write. Perhaps it would not be far wrong to say that the anxious mood in which More composed his *Apology* was due about equally to the King's changing attitude, to the increase of heretical books, and to the fact that the slander that he was refuting had been published by a man who called himself a Catholic. More had the most profound conviction that no heresies could permanently prevail against the Catholic faith. In a fine figure he compares that faith to the unshaken land against which the sea is constantly making its assaults. 'For as the sea shall never surround and overwhelm all the land, and yet hath it eaten many places in, and swallowed whole countries up, and made many places now sea that sometime were well-inhabited lands, and hath lost part of his own possession in other parts again; so though the faith of Christ shall never be overflowen with heresies, nor the gates of hell prevail against Christ's Church, yet as in some places it winneth in new people, so may there in some places by negligence be lost the old.'¹ That England was being threatened by such an inundation More certainly realized; that he regarded Saint-German's book as a dangerous wave in the rising tide is evident from the *Apology*.

The opponent whom he thus brought himself with some reluctance to face was strikingly different from the heretics whom More had previously attacked—different in other respects than in his professions. Tyndale and Frith had been controversialists of first-

¹ *Apology*, p. 180, ll. 9-18 below.

rate ability. Barnes, though inferior in ability, had at least written with a most provocative violence. Even Fish had been tremendously in earnest. None of these men had been merely lukewarm. As one toils through Saint-German's work, one discerns a very different character. Here is no overwhelming enthusiasm, no reckless daring, no bitter sarcasm, no trace of humour. The author plods slowly and cautiously through his desert of details and rumours. It soon becomes apparent that he is a lawyer; whether his distinction as a legal authority could be inferred from the work is a question—for those who are competent to answer it. In much that he writes there is certainly discernible a desire not only to correct the abuses, but also to curtail the authority of the spiritual courts. Finally one is reminded of Wood's remark that some 'thought that he halted in his Opinion, that is, that he was inclined to the way of heretics.'¹ Such a theory can hardly be said to contradict what we otherwise know of him. It may help to account for several things—his anonymous title page, his method of repeating chapters of hearsay, his consistent failure to be specific in his charges, his exasperating habit of fortifying himself with the non-committal formulas 'some say' and 'some think'.² In a word, such a theory may help to explain how a man who professed to be orthodox came to be praised by heretics. Though he spoke never so ill of a man, they said, he could 'yet use his words in fair manner';³ and they paid him the compliment of calling him 'indifferent.' To a modern reader of the treatise the word might seem ambiguous. In the sense they intended, it may be applied with propriety to the judicial career of More, but scarcely to the

¹ Wood, i, 54. Professor Pollard (*D.N.B.*) describes Saint-German as a 'moderate reformer'.

² This habit explains the satirical repetition of such phrases in the *Apology*. Saint-German's protest and More's answer will be noticed later.

³ *Apology*, p. 45, l. 30 below.

slanderous some-says of Saint-German; in the sense of *apathetic*, it might conceivably be applied to Saint-German, but never to Sir Thomas More. In an outburst of noble scorn More pictures a Corpus Christi Day scene in which, as the priests, with banners, crosses, and censers, are bearing the Blessed Sacrament through the streets in solemn procession, a rabble of heretics attack them, first with vile abuse, then with actual violence. If a man who chanced upon such a scene would win the brethren's doubtful compliment of indifference, he must not rush at once to defend the priests from the rabble, or to rescue the sacrament from the dust; instead, he must 'do somewhat on both the sides'.¹ But More professes no desire to win such compliments, however they might be heaped upon the work of Saint-German.

It must now be obvious that the 'Book of Division', as More calls it, could not fail to arouse his antipathy. Saint-German's determination to repeat every anti-clerical criticism—even those that he himself pretended to discredit—raised doubts about the sincerity of his professed purpose; his method of some-saying all these criticisms—even those that he himself obviously approved—conveyed an unpleasant impression of his character. It is not surprising that More sarcastically referred to his anonymous opponent sometimes as 'the Pacifier', sometimes as 'Sir John Some-say'. We must not forget, however, though More himself almost did so, that the refutation of the Pacifier's slander was originally intended to be but an 'incident' in the *Apology*. In the *Debellation* More explains his purposes fully, in answer to a characteristic complaint of Saint-German's:

'Now where this good man declareth what thing an apology is, and saith that it is an answer or a defence, for which cause he the more marvelleth that I would in that book write against any treatise of his, who never had anything written against any work of mine, as

¹ *Ibid.*, p. 56, ll. 8-37.

though that therefore my writing against his work would in no wise agree with the name of my book; I might answer him that the touching of his book was but an incident, as I show in the' hundredth 'leaf of my said book, and not my principal matter;¹ and therefore of many naughty things I touch there but a few, and such as were in no wise to be dissembled.

'But now marvel I much more wherefore he should so marvel² that I would, in the work which I name an answer or a defence, write against his work which nothing wrote against mine. For if the thing that I write against his words be an answer or a defence indeed, then though it be not a defence for myself, yet is the cause of all his marvel gone. For in that book that is called mine *Apology* it is not required by the nature of that name that it be any answer or defence for mine own self at all, but it sufficeth that it be, of mine own making, an answer or defence for some other. . . .

'So is it now that mine *Apology* is an answer and a defence not only for my former books, wherein the new brethren began to find certain faults, but over that in the selfsame part wherein I touch the 'Book of Division' it is an answer and a defence for many good, worshipful folk against the malicious slander and obloquy so generally set forth with so many false some-says in that seditious book.

'The selfsame piece is also an answer and a defence of the very good, old, and long-approved laws both of this realm and of the whole corpse of Christendom; which

¹Bridgett (298) states that '*The Apology* was written by More, not so much to defend his own polemical style as to answer accusations that had been made against the clergy as regards their treatment of heretics.' Though the actual proportions of the work may certainly be said to support this view, it scarcely accords with More's own statement as quoted above. The truth probably is that he was gradually led into a more extensive reply to Saint-German than he had originally intended.

²This repetition is really burlesque. Saint-German was rather given to marvelling.

laws this Pacifier in his 'Book of Division', to the encouraging of heretics and peril of the Catholic faith, with warm words and cold reasons oppugneth.

'And finally, forasmuch as many good, virtuous folk began, upon that ill book of division, to have a right evil opinion of the maker himself, whom I, for his plain confession of the true faith, took—and take yet—for a man good and Catholic; therefore I in many places of mine *Apology* lay the fault from the man himself unto some wily shrews that deceived him.¹ And so was mine *Apology* an answer also and a defence for the person of the Pacifier himself.'²

The first chapter of the *Apology* contains an enumeration of the criticisms that More had heard urged against his controversial works. Though More's replies to these criticisms constitute, theoretically at least, his main purpose, and are the source of what interest the book has for the modern reader, they may best be postponed for consideration at the end of More's controversial career. Our immediate concern is with the digression that threatened to submerge the *Apology*. Strictly speaking, it did not begin as a digression; it became one because of the scale of More's treatment. In the ninth chapter we are told that 'the brethren' complained of the harshness and lack of courtesy in More's controversial writings and blamed him for not following the mild manner of the author of the 'Book of Division'. Two chapters later More returns to that book, the touching of which, he says, 'was but an incident'. When the incident was concluded he had written forty-eight of the fifty chapters of the *Apology*. Yet he deals with only three of Saint-German's—the first, the seventh, and the eighth—quoting them paragraph by paragraph. His dissection of the first, which takes up twenty-six chapters, is intended to reveal the fact that under the Pacifier's apparent mildness there is concealed a

¹ See the note on p. 67, l. 24.

² *Works*, 931-2.

dangerous amount of slander. The consideration of the seventh and eighth chapters has for its chief aim the justification of the provisions of canon law and the statutes for the trial and punishment of heretics. At a time when heresy was spreading rapidly More could see no reason for relaxing the long-established laws framed for its suppression. With great earnestness he defended the ordinary's right to summon heretics *ex officio*. This process, he was convinced, had not brought about unjust convictions; the abandonment of it would bring about—for heretics, at least—the end of all prosecutions. Many of Saint-German's criticisms More left untouched. Some of them he considered sound; others seemed to him unimportant. He was obviously reluctant to engage in an extended controversy with a nameless opponent who professed, and occasionally seemed, to be a Catholic.

The *Apology* appeared about Easter of the year 1533. In the *Debellation* More gives us a hint of the effect that it produced:

'As soon as mine *Apology* was once come out abroad, anon heard I word that some were very wroth therewith. And yet in my mind had there no man cause, neither preacher,¹ nor Pacifier—no, nor none heretic neither. For I had but spoken for myself, and for good folk, and for the Catholic faith, without reproach or reproof to any man's person, or willing any man any harm that were willing to mend. And whoso were willing to be naught still, had cause to be wroth with himself, you wot well, and not with me.

'But all this would not serve me; for very wroth were they with me. Howbeit, their causeless anger did not greatly grieve me. For I was not so far unreasonable as to look for reasonable minds in unreasonable men.

'But then heard I shortly that thick and threefold the pens went to work, and answers were amaking, divers,

¹ In the fifth chapter of the *Apology* More slowly tears to pieces a sermon in which Tyndale had been defended.

by divers very great, cunning men. And of this travail of such great mountain hills I heard much speech made almost every week, so far forth that at last it was told me for truth that unto one little piece one great cunning man had made a long answer of twelve whole sheets of paper, written near together and with a small hand. . . .¹

'Hearing, therefore, that this gay book was made of the twelve sheets of paper, and lacked but overlooking, and that many mo were in hand that should shortly come out—like as an husband whose wife were in her travail hearkeneth every hand while, and fain would hear good tidings, so sith I so much heard of so sore travail of so many, so cunning about divers answers, I longed of their long labour to see some good speed, and some of those fair babes born that they travailed on. And when these great hills had thus travailed long (from the week after Easter till as much afore Michaelmas), the good hour came on, as God would, that one was brought abed, with sore labour at last delivered of a dead mouse."²

THE DEBELLATION OF SALEM AND BIZANCE

THE dead mouse was Saint-German's anonymous 'dialogue', *Salem and Bizance*.³ This tedious restatement of the Pacifier's position need not detain us here.⁴ More himself seems to have hesitated about

¹ In the omitted passage More explains that the 'one little piece' of his *Apology* to which the 'great cunning man' had made an answer was the fourth chapter.

² *Works*, 929-30.

³ *A Dialogue betwixt two Englishmen, whereof one was called Salem and the other Bizance*. The awkwardness of Saint-German's device of incorporating his long answer in a dialogue was ridiculed by More in a passage quoted in the note on p. 80, l. 28.

⁴ It is really more than a restatement. Saint-German modifies his original position, for example, by proposing further limitation of the processes by which heretics may be brought to trial.

answering, and feels that he must justify himself specifically for noticing it in any way. 'Two things only', he explains, 'moved me to write and meddle with it: one, that I saw therein . . . pursued the selfsame shrewd, malicious intent that was purposed in his first book of division, that is to wit, to make the ordinaries, with fear of slander and obloquy, leave their duties undone, and let heretics alone; and over that, with an evil, new change of good old laws, labour to put heretics in courage, and thereby decay the faith.'¹ A third reason for More's reply appears presently: 'But then was there another thing that I considered in it, which point, unprovided for, might soon deceive the reader. For albeit the Pacifier hath in some places put in mine own words, where it pleased him, yet hath he for the most part used a pretty craft, to misrehearse my matter, and leave my words out. Yea, and besides this, the man hath in some places left out some of his own, and misrehearsed them, to make the reader ween that in the reprovng them I had written wrong.'

More had at first intended to make his answer a model of brevity, but the random method of Saint-German's work finally led him into a more exhaustive treatment.² In its final form, therefore, *The Debellation of Salem and Bizance* proved to be considerably longer than the *Apology*. But in one respect it is more characteristic. The Pacifier's plodding seriousness occasionally awakened flashes of More's humour. In one place, where Saint-German had tediously illustrated his meaning by cases at law, More found himself waxing 'very merry', and fancying himself a young man again, 'set at a vacation mote with him in some Inn of Chancery. . . . But then I considered that as I was in the reading of his answer merry, so was himself, I saw well, in the writing weary; and other readers, that were no

¹*Works*, 930.

² It fills 106 pages in the folio of 1557. Yet More says that he 'made it in a braid' (929), and, less figuratively, 'in few days' (931).

lawyers, would in the reading wax almost as weary.' But however Saint-German might illustrate his meaning by cases at law, he had omitted to substantiate his slanderous rumours by cases of injustice. In the *Apology* More had challenged him to cite one case in which a heretic had been unjustly punished. Without taking up that challenge Saint-German had ventured to *imply* again that there were such cases. More was justly indignant. 'I ask him how he proveth that lie to be true. Thereto, ye wot well, he will bring forth for the plain proof of his plain truth in the matter his old three worshipful witnesses—which yet stand all unsworn—that is to wit, Some-say, and They-say, and Folk-say. And then hath he now brought forth other two . . . both as witnesses and judges too; that is, the good sely soul Simkin Salem, and his right honest neighbour, Brother Bizance. Well, I am content, I, that all his five witnesses be sworn and well examined, how they know the things that they report; and then those spiritual judges of whom they shall so speak and prove—let it be laid unto their charges. And if you find of such so many, and their dealing so cruel or unjust as this man maketh it, or anything well toward it, then am I content that ye shall for them believe all the remnant the worse.'¹

The greater part of the *Debellation* is devoted to the defence of the laws for the punishment of heretics. More's position is well stated in his final summary of the controversy: 'For setting aside for the while all the remnant, if he go but to the very principal point alone, wherein he laboureth to change and put away those good laws, . . . in that point alone, I say, we lay against him the common consent of this realm. And he layeth his own reason against it. We lay against him the consent of the general council. And against this he layeth his own reason. We lay against him the general approbation of all Christian realms. And against this he layeth his own reason. And what *is* his own irrefragable reason

¹ *Works*, 963.

that he layeth against all this? Surely no more, as you see, but that by those laws an innocent may sometime take wrong. Against this reason we lay him that if this reason should stand, then against malefactors there could no law stand. We lay against it also that by his devices, if they were followed, by the increase of heresies many innocents must needs take much more wrong. To this answereth he that he will not answer that. And now when Salem seeth that he cannot answer that, and seeth that all the weight of the matter hangeth upon that, then Sim Salem giveth sentence that he hath answered very well. But surely if such answering be well, I wot not which way a man might answer ill.¹

The *Debellation* does not mark the end of More's literary activity.² After he was imprisoned in the Tower, he wrote a controversial work against an anonymous attack, probably by Tyndale, on the Blessed Sacrament.³ In the following year he composed the well-known *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, and the purely devotional *Treatise upon the Passion*. All three of these works, however, lie outside the scope of our present consideration.

CHARACTERISTICS OF MORE'S STYLE

WE have now reached a point from which we may advantageously glance back over More's writings, and consider his style, his controversial methods, and the general criticisms that were the chief cause of his writing the *Apology*. We have seen that when Bishop Tunstall called More to the defence of the faith, his

¹*Works*, 1031.

²Nor does it mark the end of the controversy with Saint-German, whose final contribution, *The additions of Salem and Byzance*, was printed by Thomas Berthelet in 1534. See Pollard and Redgrave, 499; Maunsell, 95; and Bale's reference in the note on p. 4, l. 6.

³*The Answer to the First Part of the Poisoned Book Which a Nameless Heretic Hath Named 'The Supper of the Lord.'*

first reason was '*quia tu, frater clarissime, in lingua nostra vernacula, sicut etiam in Latina Demosthenem quendam præstare potes*'. Though this assertion—even with the saving addition of the *quendam*—sounds somewhat extravagant, its wording implies that it was based largely upon More's oratory, the eloquence of which is well attested. To what extent is the Bishop's opinion justified by the works that were written at his invitation? The very nature of those works has operated against any approach to a unanimous verdict. It may be worth while to illustrate the diversity with which the question has been answered even by those who looked upon More's writings from Tyndale's point of view. Anderson, who felt that the English language had never been so prostituted before More took up his pen, expressed his verdict as follows: 'No solitary selected expressions can convey an adequate idea of the virulence, not to say the verbosity, and fallacious reasoning of this writer. It certainly would exhaust the patience of most readers, in the present day, to wade through his folio Dialogue.'¹ Demaus, whose excellent biography of Tyndale is characterized by an evident, if not always triumphant, desire to do justice to More, quotes a portion of Anderson's comment as a point of departure for the following appreciation: 'This is a grossly unfair misrepresentation of Sir Thomas's contribution to the defence of that Church for which he died a martyr. Virulence and verbosity, may, indeed, with perfect justice, be alleged against More's subsequent "Confutation" of Tyndale's reply to his "Dialogue," his "Debellation of Salem and Byzance," and other works known only to the intrepid reading of two or three unwearied scholars; but the "Dialogue" itself, though indulging occasionally in somewhat sharp abuse of Tyndale and the other reformers, contains very little to justify such an epithet as *virulent*. . . .

'Nor could any epithet be less suitable to the

¹*Annals*, i, 236-7.

"Dialogue" than *tedious*. It is anything but tedious; indeed, after many years' study of our older literature, we still doubt if any work of equal size had appeared in the English language since the days of Chaucer, which could be less appropriately styled tedious. The reader whose patience is unequal to the perusal of More's folio "Dialogue" may conclude with certainty that he is totally destitute of any true literary taste.¹ I have quoted this appreciation not only because, save for the last sentence, it seems to me to be just, but also because the man who wrote it cannot conceivably be accused of partisan pleading.

For a detailed examination of More's English the reader must be referred to the excellent study by M. Delcourt.² Here there is space for but brief illustration of a few general characteristics. The very purpose of the works that More had undertaken implied that they should be written in English, and the great humanist did not think it necessary to apologize for the use of his native language. The idea that it was barbarous he characterized as 'fantasy.'³ His works show that he had some knowledge of its older literature, and that he was keenly interested in the vernacular of his own day. In fact, that Tyndale had ignored the authority of the vernacular was one of More's criticisms of the translation of the New Testament. In a significant passage in the *Confutation*, referring to Tyndale's railing upon the word *Church*, More replies with dignity, calling Tyndale's attention to the duties of a translator: 'But it pleaseth him not to consider that I said that this word [*congregation*] is indifferent unto Turks and Christian men . . . so that it as well signifieth a company of Turks as of Christian men; and that this word *Church* doth signify a company of Christian people, and is not

¹ Tyndale, 265-6.

² *Essai sur la langue de Sir Thomas More d'après ses œuvres anglaises*. See also Reed, [11]-[59].

³ See the note on p. 13, l. 9.

indifferent to a company of Turks and of Christian men. And I said—and yet I say—that this is true of the usual signification of these words themselves in the English tongue, by the common custom of us English people that either now do use these words in our language, or that have used before our days. And I say that this common custom and usage of speech is the only thing by which we know the right and proper signification of any word; insomuch that if a word were taken out of Latin, French, or Spanish, and were, for lack of understanding of the tongue from whence it came, used for another thing in English than it was in the former tongue, then signifieth it in England none other thing than as we use it and understand thereby, whatsoever it signify anywhere else. Then say I now that in England this word *congregation* did never signify the number of Christian people as Christian people, with a connotation . . . of their faith or Christendom, no more than this word *assemble*, which hath been taken out of the French and now is by custom becomen English, as *congregation* is out of the Latin. And yet I deny not but under those words, both twain, may be Christian men spoken of. For every assembly and congregation in Christian realms is commonly made of Christian people.’ And again, on the same page, in commenting on Tyndale’s railing upon the ‘church of Satan’, More adds: ‘But now though Tyndale may thus say for his pleasure—which I deny not—yet can he not say that this is the proper signification of that word, which is the thing that a translator must regard.’¹

The auxiliaries in the sentence just quoted are worthy of notice.² In such uses, and indeed generally in his own

¹ *Works*, 416-17. I have, with deliberate inconsistency, retained More’s spelling *assemble* in the sentence in which he calls attention to the French derivation of the word, and modernized it thereafter.

² Cf. Delcourt (166): ‘More manie déjà les auxiliaires avec un sens réel des habitudes et des nuances modernes.’ For exceptions, one or two of them debatable, cf. *ibid.*, 168-74.

writings, More himself is careful about these proper significations; and he will easily be forgiven if, in examining Tyndale's translation of the New Testament, he sometimes appears to be meticulous. Occasionally, as in the following passage from the *Confutation*, it is conceivable that he may have had, indirectly, a didactic motive: 'I would not here note, by the way, that Tyndale here translateth *no* for *nay*—for it is but a trifle, and mistaking of the English word—saving that ye should see that he which, in two so plain English words and so common as is *nay* and *no*, cannot tell when he should take the one, and when the other, is not, for translating into English, a man very meet. For the use of those two words in answering to a question is this: *Nay*¹ answereth the question framed by the affirmative. As for ensample if a man should ask Tyndale himself, "Is an heretic meet to translate Holy Scripture into English?"—lo, to this question, if he will answer true English, he must answer *nay* and not *no*. But and if the question be asked him thus, lo: "Is not an heretic meet to translate Holy Scripture into English?"—to this question, lo, if he will answer true English, he must answer *no* and not *nay*. And a like difference is there between these two adverbs *yea* and *yes*. For if the question be framed unto Tyndale by the affirmative in this fashion: "If an heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English to make his false heresies seem the word of God, be his books worthy to be burned?"—to this question, asked in this wise, if he will answer true English, he must answer *yea* and not *yes*. But now if the question be asked him thus, lo, by the negative: "If an heretic falsely translate the New Testament into English to make his false heresies seem the word of God, be not his books well worthy to be burned?"—to this question, in this fashion framed, if he will answer true English, he may not answer *yea*, but he must answer *yes*, and

¹ I have corrected the obvious misprint *no*, which I find in the 1557 edition.

say, "Yes, marry, be they! both the translation and the translator, and all that will hold with them."

'And this thing, lo, though it be no great matter, yet I have thought good to give Tyndale warning of, because I would have him write true one way or other, that, though I cannot make him by no mean to write true matter, I would have him yet at the least wise write true English.'¹

For all More's keen interest in the English language, however, and his desire both to write it correctly himself and to have others do so, it would be idle to maintain that his style was not affected, sometimes unhappily, by Latin idiom. In the following sentence, for instance, we catch an echo of the Latin construction that is familiar in the phrase *ab urbe condita*: 'For else had it been wrong with English people from the faith first brought into this realm, unto our own days'.² Occasionally in his participial constructions one finds an adaptation, far from idiomatic, of the ablative absolute. Thus, in lamenting the alleged division within the realm, he exhorts all classes to unite against evil folk, to cure such as may be cured, and to 'cut and cast off the incurable, cankered parts therefro, observed in the doing evermore such order and fashion as may stand and agree with reason and justice, the King's laws of the realm, the scripture of God, and the laws of Christ's Church'.³ Such constructions, though they are usually perfectly clear, are not easily defensible. Rarely, one may suspect that the Latin order has influenced the form of one of More's sentences. A relative clause from the conclusion of the *Debellation* may serve for illustration: 'He laboureth to change and put away those good laws, the change whereof—such as he deviseth—the

¹*Works*, 448. Tyndale seems to glance at this passage in *The Supper of the Lord*. See his *Works*, iii, 229.

²*Apology*, p. 12, l. 31 below.

³*Ibid.*, p. 59, l. 7. Another example has already been quoted from the *Debellation*.

decay of the Catholic faith and the increase of heresies would follow'. Though all of these faults may fairly be called rare, every one of them, when it does occur, is likely to provoke a Podsnappian flourish and the indignant protest, 'Not English!'

Perhaps the most unquestionable charge that has been brought against More's writing is that it is redundant. This is not true of all his works; but after 1531 it becomes his chief fault, and in the *Apology* it is certainly conspicuous. I suppose the explanation of it is to be found in More's expressed desire to convince not only men of mean intelligence, but even children. This theory seems to me to account satisfactorily for the unnecessary elaboration and repetition, for example, in the paragraph in which he explains the proper use of *nay* and *no*. Writing, as he was, for a popular audience, he tried to write down to that audience. It is to be feared that he sometimes underestimated the intelligence of his readers almost as much as he overestimated their patience. This theory may also account in part for the looseness of his sentence-structure. When the redundancy and the looseness concur in endless, rambling sentences, More's style is at its worst. Yet even in such passages his meaning is never in doubt. He may write sentences childish in structure, and Miltonic in length, but he rarely writes a sentence that requires re-reading. I cannot give a better illustration than the sentence in the *Apology* from which I have already quoted one Latin idiom.¹ It takes up about three quarters of the folio page in the edition of 1557, and is one of the longest sentences that More ever wrote;² yet the reader who can control his exasperation will find no great difficulty in following it to the end.

¹P. 58, l. 13—p. 59, l. 21 below.

²Jusserand (ii, 102) and Delcourt (271) report the length of some of More's sentences in yards or metres. The longest one mentioned by Delcourt measured 4m., 20. Our present sentence, in the black letter of 1557, is only four inches shorter.

The length of the journey, both here and elsewhere, is partly due to More's constant desire to add a parallel or contrasting word, phrase, or clause. This tendency toward balance, which sharpens almost every page of his writings and makes some amends for their redundancy, is highly characteristic of More. The strongly analytical tendency of his mind, which frequently leads him into unnecessary elaboration of detail, is compensated by a synthetic faculty that enables him to see the important issues in sharp relief. And when he comes to reduce to lowest terms the question under discussion, he normally presents those issues in balanced form. The paragraph that I have already quoted from the conclusion of the *Debellation* is a good example; but I cannot forbear adding one other. The following sentences from the *Supplication* are part of an extended balance in which the authority of the Church's interpretation of scripture is maintained against the individual interpretation of heretics: '...if they will therefore call us to some other reckoning, and will that we . . . match them man for man, then have we (if we might for shame match such blessed saints with a sort so far unlike) Saint Austin against Friar Luther, Saint Jerome against Friar Lambert, Saint Ambrose against Friar Heussgen, Saint Gregory against Friar Pomerane, Saint Chrysostom against Tyndale, Saint Basil against the Beggars' Proctor. . . . Now if they will have, in these matches, the qualities of either side considered, then have we wisdom against folly, cunning against ignorance, charity against malice, true faith against heresies, humility against arrogancy, revelations against illusions, inspiration of God against inventions of the devil, constancy against wavering, abstinence against gluttony, continency against lechery, and finally every kind of virtue against every kind of vice. . . . Now, as we say, if they so do [i.e., if the heretics deny the authority of the scripture itself], yet have we left, at the worst way, Luther against Luther,

Heussgen against Heussgen, Tyndale against Tyndale, and finally every heretic against himself. And then when these folk sit in Almayne upon their beer-bench in judgment on us and our matters, we may, as the knight of King Alexander appealed from Alexander to Alexander, from Alexander the drunk to Alexander the sober—so shall we appeal from Luther to Luther, from Luther the drunken to Luther the sober, from Luther the heretic to Luther the Catholic, and likewise in all the remnant.’¹

Perhaps the strongest native influence in More’s style is to be found in his fondness for alliteration. Especially in passages of invective he seems to alliterate instinctively. The heretics ‘fume, fret, froth, and foam, as fierce and as angerly as a new-hunted sow.’² Sometimes in a longer passage two or three initial letters prevail: ‘But now they that are fled from the faith of all them of whose faith there was no cause to doubt, and are fallen to the faith of a few faithless folk, false apostatas, wild wedded monks and friars, and their fond disciples—if they make themself so sure of their devilish doctrine that they refuse to read the things that are written³ . . .’ Rarely this instinct concurs with the instinct for balance to produce the ‘transverse alliteration’ that was occasionally employed by Ascham and much more frequently by Lyly. Thus, at the end of the sentence just quoted, More promises that the brethren ‘shall find their opinions plainly proved false, and their arch-heretics plainly proved fools.’ Thus in the *Confutation* he describes Tyndale as fast bound ‘in the chair of pestilence, with the chain of pertinacity’.⁴ The alliterative instinct in More, though it rarely follows

¹ *Works*, 330-1. The second sentence of the quotation may be reminiscent of the eleventh section of Cicero’s second oration against Catiline.

² *Works*, 302.

³ *Apology*, p. 42, l. 33.

⁴ *Works*, 483.

such a pattern, is constantly active, and may influence him in the choice of an obsolescent form of a word, as in the phrase 'pot-headed postles'.

It is a short step from 'pot-headed postles' to puns. The humanist who had played so pleasantly upon Greek and Latin words was not likely to ignore opportunities for word-play in his English writings. Of Tyndale's New Testament and the various heresies that the brethren made to harmonize with it More writes: 'For surely first his false translation, with their further false construction, they thought should be the bass and tenor whereupon they would sing the trouble, with much false descant.'¹ This seems less spontaneous than the passing glance that More usually casts at the similar word. In any case, the pun seems to be quite independent of the character of the context. It may leap forth as More sternly rebukes the heretic; it may intrude into a devotional passage. And when the influence of the only-begotten Son is compared to the beams of the warm sun, the word-play no more indicates irreverence than the puns that More made on his way to the scaffold indicate a sceptical attitude about the future life.² Word-play with More, indeed, seems to have become almost involuntary; and the habit was not especially hindered even by the anxious mood in which he wrote the *Apology*.

Such punning often conveys no humorous implication. It is in other ways that More's humour appears and assists in his controversial writings—sometimes to the no small discomfiture of his opponents. His quick sense of the ludicrous is reflected in his use of the *reductio ad absurdum*. It is characteristic of More, how-

¹ *Works*, 405.

² I should hardly have thought it worth the while to mention a fact so obvious had I not chanced upon an attempt to present these puns as proof that More himself did not believe in the doctrine of purgatory, which he had so ably defended. The pun on *son* and *sun* recalls the last stanza of Donne's 'Hymn to God the Father.'

ever, that though he often uses this device, he does not abuse it. He does not depend solely, or even primarily, upon it as an answer to the argument he is considering. It is only after careful refutation of that argument that he permits himself the pleasure of representing it in a ridiculous light.¹ He can employ the device without irreverence in considering heretical objections to the most sacred mysteries. He uses it most effectively, as in the *Apology*, in a final summary of his opponent's position; but in such passages More's delightful touches can be appreciated only at the price of toiling patiently through the most arid stretches of his opponent's argument. For present illustration we must be content with one of the shortest specimens. In the *Dialogue*, it will be remembered, More had pointed out that the word *congregation* was used in an unrestricted sense, but that the word *Church* was limited by a strictly Christian connotation. Tyndale had replied in the *Answer*: 'And when he saith that *congregation* is a more general term; if it were, it hurteth not: for the circumstance doth ever tell what congregation is meant.'² In the *Confutation* More quoted Tyndale's words, and retorted as follows: 'If the setting of the circumstance make all well enough, he needeth not much to care *what* word he changeth, nor how. For he may set such circumstances of his own device that he make men perceive what he meaneth. For so he may translate the world into a football if he join therewith certain circumstances, and say: "This round, rolling football that men walk upon, and ships sail upon, in the people whereof there is no rest nor stability," and so forth, a great long tale'. The *Apology* itself contains two of the most elaborate specimens of the *reductio ad absurdum*, aimed respectively at the

¹ Occasionally the process is reversed. The point with which I am concerned is that More's seriousness of purpose prevented his using this device as the only answer to an argument.

² Works, iii, 15.

Pacifier's pacific devices and at the changes that he suggested in the laws concerning heresy.¹

It is perhaps another indication of the anxious mood of the *Apology* that the work contains no example of the pleasantest manifestation of More's humour. There are several anecdotes from Æsop and Plutarch, but nothing that Rastell, in the margins of the 1557 edition, ventured to label as 'A Merry Tale.' In the Preface of the *Dialogue* More explained that he had himself felt certain misgivings about some of his merry tales, and that it was partly on that account that he had anxiously submitted the work to men whose judgment he respected.² Their approval confirmed the spontaneous impulse that had first prompted More to use such tales in illustrating his points, rather than the cautious afterthought that had led him to fear that his humour might be construed as unbecoming levity. That they were justified in their decision no one will doubt. To forbid More to illustrate his meaning by an occasional merry tale would have been to forbid him to be himself. In the *Apology* he glances briefly at the brethren's criticism of this habit. 'They reprove', he remarks, 'that I bring in, among the most earnest matters, fancies and sports and merry tales.' A serious consideration of this criticism More considers unnecessary. 'For as Horace saith,' he answers, 'a man may sometime say full sooth in game. And one that is but a layman, as I am—it may better, haply, become him merrily to tell his mind than seriously and solemnly to preach. And over this, I can scant believe that the brethren find any mirth in my books. For I have not much heard that they very merrily read them.'³ One merry tale, to illustrate the Messenger's eye-belief, has already been quoted from the *Dialogue*. A delightful specimen may be added from

¹ P. 63, l. 27-p. 66, l. 18; p. 186, l. 10-p. 188, l. 31 below; and see the last four paragraphs of the note on p. 150, l. 23.

² *Works*, 106.

³ *Apology*, p. 194, ll. 22-29.

the *Debellation*. We have already noticed that Saint-German's constant repetition of the phrase 'some say' had particularly exasperated More, and that his exasperation is shown in the *Apology* by his sarcastic repetition of the same phrase. Saint-German, who had no sense of humour, complained in *Salem and Bizance* of this repetition, and even ventured to hint that in one passage it tended to obscure More's meaning. More's answer is as follows: 'Now goeth this man farther . . . and showeth that mine answer to his words (which you read in the' nineteenth 'chapter of mine *Apology*) be very dark by the reason that I use therein so often this word "some say", which is, he saith, done after a railing fashion. But as you know well, good readers, I have taken that word "some say" of his book, in which I read it so often that it falleth sometime into my pen ere I be ware.

'And as for the railing fashion—if I durst be bold to tell so sad a man a merry tale, I would tell him of the friar that, as he was preaching in the country, spied a poor wife of the parish whispering with her pewfellow; and he, falling angry thereto, cried out unto her aloud, "Hold thy babble, I bid thee, thou wife in the red hood." Which when the housewife heard, she waxed as angry again, and suddenly she start up and cried out unto the friar again, that all the church rang thereon, "Marry, sir, I beshrew his heart that babbleth most of us both. For I do but whisper a word with my neighbour here, and thou hast babbled there all this hour."'¹

This delightful wife in the red hood suggests that much of the vitality of More's writing is due to the concreteness and homeliness of his language. These traits, indeed, have been apparent in many of our quotations. They are more conspicuous in the illustrations with which he occasionally sharpens his meaning. For such a purpose he is likely to bring before our eyes some

¹*Works*, 948. Upon occasion More could add a fine flavour of dialect, as in the anecdote of Tenterden steeple (*Works*, 278).

familiar sight—a grinning ape, two wrestlers preparing for a match, a costermonger carefully covering the rotten fruit in his basket, a clumsy juggler whirling his stick while the crowd presses about his table, a flock of birds flitting through a thicket, a Corpus Christi procession, the tide wallowing up the Thames against the wind, a tender mother wiping the eyes of her child and kissing him and casting the rod into the fire. If the choice of such illustrations is determined by the character of the audience, their vividness is due to the genius of More.

It is no longer necessary to argue about More's claim to an honourable place among the writers of English prose. That claim, recognized in his own day, was also recognized by Ascham, Ben Jonson, and Samuel Johnson, and has been repeatedly proclaimed during the past century.¹ A single sentence upon the subject may be quoted from the excellent study by M. Delcourt: 'Et quand on se rappelle que, parmi les différentes œuvres en prose de ce temps, aucune presque n'est antérieure aux premières manifestations du talent de More, on reconnaît qu'il n'est pas trop injuste d'affirmer qu'il fut bien le premier maître qu'ait eu la prose anglaise et en un sens le fondateur de la littérature anglaise moderne.'²

GENERAL CRITICISMS

OF the various criticisms that were urged against More's controversial works the one to which he reverts oftenest in the *Apology* is that his books are too long. The brethren 'find first, for a great fault,' he complains, 'that my writing is overlong, and therefore too tedious to read.' This criticism, one may surmise, must have been gathered from the examinations of many

¹ Ascham, iii, 6; Jonson, 910-17; Johnson, xlv-lv; Mackintosh (ed. 1851), 194-95; Hutton, 283; Brémond, 121-49; Chambers, *Fame*, 16-26.

² *Essai*, 311.

heretics. After spending so much time and labour upon the confutation of Tyndale's heresies, More must have had the very natural desire to know how far, in effect, he had succeeded. And when heretics confessed, in their examinations before More himself or the Bishop or Chancellor of London, that they had gleaned their heresies from the writings of Tyndale, we may feel sure that they were often asked whether they had read More's *Confutation*, and that the answer must have come, with discouraging frequency, that it was too long for them to read. In order to appreciate the ground for this criticism one must remember not only that the *Confutation* was four times as long as Tyndale's *Answer*, but also that it extended hardly to a consideration of the first quarter of that *Answer*.¹ In the *Apology* More remarks that the most foolish heretic in a town may write more false heresies in one leaf than the wisest man in the whole world can well confute by reason and authority in forty. The scale on which the *Confutation* is written is approximately twenty to one,² but on one or two of the more important issues More's argument is actually forty times as long as Tyndale's. We must admit, however reluctantly, that the brethren were not wholly without reason in their complaint.

This criticism, indeed, though it has no application to the *Dialogue*, may fairly be urged against much of More's later controversial work. And its importance in any consideration of the influence of that work may warrant some inquiry into the causes. One of them may easily be found in More's honest determination to print the full text of his opponent on the important questions at issue. This admirable practice becomes somewhat less admirable when it is repeated upon the same

¹ In justice to More it must be emphasized that the first quarter dealt with the fundamental issues. If Tyndale was refuted on these, nothing else in his *Answer* really mattered.

² In this computation the unrefuted part of the *Answer* and the eighth book of the *Confutation* are omitted.

passage. Having quoted the passage in full, and refuted it at some length, More does sometimes permit himself the pleasure of quoting it again to show his readers how foolish it sounds after his refutation. Since the original quotation happens, often enough, to be tedious reading, it is not necessary to dilate upon the dangers of such repetition.¹ They will be acutely realized by any reader of the *Apology* before he has finished the eighth chapter. Of course, the whole question of controversial quotation involved other factors. Books were scarce; heretical books were strictly prohibited. More could not safely venture to refer the reader to a passage in Tyndale's *Answer* and then to his own reply in the *Confutation*. A reader might happen to own either book; but the same reader was not likely to own both. Yet More sometimes felt that the question at issue should be presented in the light of a summary of what had already been written upon it. And when such a summary—to take an extreme case—drags the reader through six phases, he is likely again to sympathize for the moment with the brethren who found More's works too long.

The *Confutation* would have been appreciably shorter if More had been content with answering what Tyndale had written; actually he proceeds to anticipate the various things that Tyndale might say in reply, and to answer those in turn. In general, he seems to have had an unconquerable desire to refute not only everything that his opponent *had* said but also everything that that opponent might ever dream of saying. Though he were to argue against an heretical centipede, Sir Thomas would be determined to leave him not a leg to stand on. If we are at times reminded of the youthful More's delight in mental agility, we are none the less forced to

¹See the note on p. 7, l. 27. In the *Confutation* More frequently summarizes a quoted passage before he writes a word in refutation of it. The object of such a summary is to show clearly what he regards as the significance of the passage; but the method is obviously a strain of the patience of his readers.

admit that the result often justifies the brethren's adjectives. The method, though especially characteristic of the *Confutation*, appears not infrequently in later works.

However one may analyse the causes, it finally becomes clear that the length of More's writings was due to his earnestness. There was nothing casual or perfunctory about his work. Distasteful though it was, he did it faithfully, painstakingly, dealing with the text of his opponent inch by inch. He was defending the Catholic faith. He was striving to save souls from hell. In such a cause no labour could be too exacting. It is only after realizing this fact that one can grasp the tragic effect on More of the criticism that we are considering. The very men for whose sake he had spent his labour complained that his books were too long for them to read. The very completeness of the work had, in part, defeated its object. In the *Apology* there are pathetic hints that More was beginning to realize this. It is shorter than most of his controversial works; and in spite of its redundancy and occasional arid stretches one feels again and again that Sir Thomas is making an effort to reduce his argument to more readable dimensions. This realization is even more apparent in his references to his earlier works. Having occasion to refer to Tyndale's distinction between the 'historical faith' and the 'feeling faith',¹ he attacks it in a brief argument, referring his readers 'for further conclusion' to his exhaustive answer in the *Confutation*. 'Let them read my *Confutation* through', he urges. 'Or because they call that too long, let them read but the seventh book, which is entitled "The Defence of the Second Reason against Tyndale." Or, if they think that book alone too long, let them leave a great part of the book, and begin in that leaf and that side of the leaf that is marked with the number of cccxl.'²

¹The passage in which Tyndale explains this distinction is quoted in the note on p. 41, l. 6. Cf. the note on p. 41, l. 36.

²*Apology*, p. 41, l. 33 below. See also *Works*, 1085.

The justice of the complaint that More's writings were too long, contrasts most strongly with the slander that we have next to consider. 'And yet they say, besides all this, that I do but pick out pieces at my pleasure, such as I may most easily seem to soil, and leave out what me list, and such as would plainly prove the matter against me. And so they say that I use but craft and fraud against Tyndale.'¹ This preposterous charge may serve as occasion for correcting a modern error that is promising to gain some currency—a statement to the effect that More in his *Confutation* silently passed over seventy or eighty pages of Tyndale's *Answer*. Any such statement challenges More's controversial reputation and contradicts his own words in the *Apology*. Actually it is without foundation.² We have just noticed that one of the causes of the length of More's works was his determination to quote, on the important issues, the full text of his opponent. When he merely summarizes an heretical argument—and he does not often resort to this method in the *Confutation*—his summary is just. Elsewhere I have quoted the statement of the editor of the Parker Society's edition of Tyndale's works that he had found More's quotations of 'material use' in the collations by which he had endeavoured to establish Tyndale's genuine text. No editor of More, I fear, will ever be likely to pay Tyndale such a compliment. Indeed, when More replies to this charge, he complains that Tyndale has not treated him as he has treated Tyndale.³ A specimen of More's method in answering an opponent may be found in the *Apology*. He deals with twenty-two pages of Saint-German's treatise, and quotes those pages so accurately that my collations revealed only three or

¹ *Apology*, p. 4, l. 12 below.

² See the note on p. 5, l. 35; and the other notes and passages cited therein.

³ See the second chapter of the *Apology*; and the notes on p. 5, l. 2; p. 20, l. 15.

four errors, all of them, apparently, due to the printer, and none of them of the slightest importance.¹

In another respect, however, the brethren had some reason for their complaint of the way in which More treated his opponents. 'And over this,' More tells us, 'they find a great fault that I handle Tyndale and Barnes, their two new gospellers, with no fairer words'.² Most modern readers are likely to approve of this criticism. More's English works are not often disfigured with that coarseness of abuse that characterized his *Responsio ad Lutherum*,³ but his treatment of heretics in general, and of Tyndale in particular, is somewhat too harsh to please the modern ear. Demaus, who complains of this treatment, suggests the following explanation: 'There can be little doubt that amongst the causes which thus lashed into fury the man who had formerly advocated toleration, and whose temperament naturally disposed him to gentle and lenient measures, considerable weight must be attached to Tyndale's insinuation that, like Judas, he had bartered away his conscience for gold.'⁴ Whether or not the slander that Tyndale repeated about his opponent deserve so mild a term as 'insinuation' we shall soon have occasion to question. But that, far from having 'considerable weight', it had any weight at all among the causes that contributed to the severity of More's language, is a conclusion that will not bear scrutiny. More's character was not vindictive. Tyndale's slander was so ridiculous, in fact, that More, as we shall see, refers to it rather in jest than with spite. The ground for More's severity was more noble, precisely because it was free from personal resentment.

¹The final paragraph of chapter vii is omitted. See the note on p. 161, l. 7.

²*Apology*, p. 3, l. 33 below.

³There are a few such passages. See the quotations and references given by Delcourt (281-83), who, after noting that the fault was common to most of the controversialists of the period, expresses a regret that More did not, in this respect, rise above his contemporaries.

⁴*Tyndale*, 284.

The earliest passage in his works in which he justifies his violent language is to be found in the fourth book of the *Dialogue*, in connection with a tirade against Luther.¹ Here, it should be noted, the justification is based not merely upon the fact that Luther had violently attacked men who were entitled to respect, ceremonies that were authorized by the Church, and sacraments that were revered by all Christendom; it is based largely upon Luther's marriage with a nun. In More's eyes such a marriage, forbidden by their own solemn vows, and by civil and ecclesiastical law, was no marriage at all, but a hideous crime. Moreover, it was a crime that was beginning to increase. Among the continental reformers whose teachings had been condemned, and whose books, though forbidden, were beginning to make their influence felt in England, Luther and Lambert, Œcolampadius and Otto Brunfelsius had all broken their vows of celibacy.² More felt it his duty to call attention to this fact repeatedly. The broken vows, in his opinion, were a significant commentary on the heretical interpretations of scripture. This particular justification for his vehemence had not been furnished by either Tyndale or Barnes. But, though neither of these men had broken this particular vow, both had written against the celibacy of the clergy, and Tyndale had defended Luther's marriage.³ The other reasons, moreover, that More had stated in justification of his treatment of Luther were present in the writings of Tyndale and Barnes, some of them in an aggravated form. They had both violently attacked sacraments, beliefs, and ceremonies, that were dear to the great majority of their fellow-countrymen. They had railed against the clergy with much vehemence and little discrimination,⁴ and

¹The passage is quoted in the note on p. 3, l. 33.

²*Apology*, p. 104, ll. 19-20; and notes thereon.

³But see also Delcourt (285 and foot-note), and his reference to Demaus, 258-9. A passage in Tyndale's *Answer* (iii, 170-71) may be construed as a defence of Luther's marriage.

⁴See the notes on p. 47, ll. 22, 23.

had not scrupled to insult by name bishops of the Church whose lives were above reproach.¹ Such, in brief, is More's defence, which is elaborated in the ninth chapter of the *Apology*. He seems to be perplexed by the criticism that we are considering, as by a dilemma. How, he asks, in effect, can I treat these men otherwise? In answering their books, unless I ignore the essential questions, I cannot avoid proving that they are blasphemous heretics. How then can I contrive to 'speak them fair'? But he makes it perfectly clear that there is no private malice in his invective. 'If any of them use their words at their pleasure, as evil and as villainous as they list *against myself*, I am content to forbear any requiting thereof and give them no worse words again than if they speak me fair; nor, using themselves toward all *other folk* as they do, fairer words will I not give them than if they spake me foul. For all shall be one to me, or rather, the worse, the better. For the pleasant oil of heretics, cast upon mine head, can do my mind no pleasure; but contrariwise, the worse that such folk write of me for hatred that they bear to the Catholic Church and faith, the greater pleasure (as for mine own part) they do me.'² In the controversy that More waged with three of the English reformers the violent diatribes of Barnes contrast most strongly with the comparative restraint of Frith. More and Tyndale are about equally culpable, though More's invective seems to me to be more free from any personal note. All four men were most deeply convinced that they were fighting for the truth; More, Tyndale, and Frith willingly gave their lives for their convictions.

We have seen that one of the causes of More's ire was the sweeping denunciation of the clergy that charac-

¹ In particular, More's friends, Bishop Tunstall and Bishop Fisher. More must have especially resented these insults. See the note on p. 49, l. 35.

² *Apology*, p. 48, l. 36 below. Two pages later he offers to make a 'reasonable composition' with them.

terized the works of Tyndale and Barnes. Sir Thomas himself, on the other hand, was accused of being partial to the clergy. We must first examine this accusation in the very definite form in which it appears in the pages of Tyndale. Its first appearance, I believe, occurs in *The Practice of Prelates*, in a passage which shows that Tyndale misunderstood the situation in England almost as completely as he misunderstood the character of his opponent. Here Tyndale asserts that Cardinal Wolsey, 'when God had wrapped him in his own wiles . . . and he had learned also of his necromancy, this would be a jeopardous year for him . . . thought to undo his destiny with his policies, and went and put down himself under a colour (which the process of the tragedy well declareth), and set up in his room, to minister forth, and to fight against God as he had begun, the chiefest of all his secretaries, one nothing inferior unto his master in lying, feigning, and bearing two faces in one hood; a whelp that goeth not out of kind from his sire; the chiefest stale¹ wherewith the cardinal caught the king's grace, whom he called unto the confirmation of all that he intended to persuade, saying, "If it like your grace, More is a learned man, and knoweth it, and is also a layman, wherefore he will not say otherwise than it is, for any partiality to us-ward:" which secretary yet must first deserve it with writing against Martin, and against "The Obedience," and "Mammon," and become the proctor of purgatory, to write against "The supplication of beggars."'"² In the *Answer* More is compared to Judas Iscariot, and is accused of defending the Catholic faith 'to obtain only that which he was an hungred for.'³ This is the 'insinuation' which Demaus regards as largely responsible for More's severe

¹ I have here corrected the misprint 'tasle'.

² Works, ii, 335.

³ Some idea of the spitefulness of Tyndale's accusations and of the good nature of More's reply may be gained from the note on p. 52, l. 6. See also the note on p. 51, l. 5.

treatment of Tyndale. As I have already hinted, More's conscience was so clear, and his reputation for integrity was so well established, that he could easily afford to laugh at such ridiculous slander. When he considers it, in the *Confutation*, he remonstrates with Tyndale for exposing his motives to the spirituality. If they had been on the point of raising a donation for his benefit, he exclaims, 'Tyndale had here lost it me, every penny. But God forgive the good man!—and I do. For when he speaketh of my lucre, in good faith he maketh me laugh; and so, I ween, he maketh many mo too, that know well—God be thanked!—that I have not so much lucre thereby that I stand in so great peril of choking with lucre as Tyndale standeth in danger of choking—God save the man!—with the bones of buttered beer!' In the year in which this reply was published Tyndale managed to repeat his previous charge in the course of an exposition of the Sermon on the Mount; and we find in the *Apology* that he was still circulating the same slander by word of mouth, not without occasional embellishment. The very nature of the *Apology* demanded that More notice, however briefly, such charges. In a dignified passage in the tenth chapter he points to his straitened circumstances as the most obvious refutation.¹ He admits that some of the spirituality, who were doubtless aware of these straitened circumstances, tried to persuade him to accept, in recognition of his services, a sum of money much greater 'than ever I did, or could, deserve. But I dare take God and them also to record that all they could never feoff me with one penny thereof; but, as I plainly told them, I would rather have cast their money into the Thames than take it. For albeit they were, as indeed they were, both good men and honourable, yet look I for my thank of God, that is their better, and for whose sake I take the labour, and not for theirs.'²

This accusation of partiality toward the clergy, how-

¹ For references see the note on p. 51, l. 17.

² *Apology*, p. 52, l. 10 below; and note thereon.

ever, may be stated in less preposterous form than that in which Tyndale stated it. Freed from any imputations with regard to More's integrity, and conveying merely the impression of a strong bias in his mind, it appeared among the brethren's more honest criticisms of More's writings, and has been often repeated by Protestant critics. In one sense, indeed, the criticism is not without foundation. Bridgett, in writing of More's services in Cardinal Morton's household, emphasizes the importance of the early impressions of the clergy that he formed there. 'It must certainly be counted among the special graces of More that his mind, so shrewd and inclined to satire, formed its first impressions of the Church from the frequentation of so excellent a prelate as Morton, rather than in the household of a Bainbridge or a Wolsey; for, though the Church of Jesus Christ, as a Divine institution, is independent of its earthly representatives, yet a mind early prejudiced acquires with difficulty that well-balanced judgment that is able to consider calmly good and evil, and to assign each to its proper source.'¹ At any rate, More never shows any desire to publish scandalous accounts of clerical shortcomings. In the *Dialogue* he protests against the prevalence of that tendency. 'For in reproach of them we be so studious that neither good nor bad passeth unreproved. If they be familiar, we call them light. If they be solitary, we call them fantastic. If they be sad, we call them solemn. If they be merry, we call them mad. . . . If they be holy, we call them hypocrites. If they keep few servants, we call them niggards. If they keep many, we call them pompous. If a lewd priest do a lewd deed, then we say, Lo! see what sample the clergy giveth us!—as though that priest were the clergy. But then forget we to look what good men be therein, and what good counsel they give us, and what good ensample they show us. But we fare as do the ravens and the carrion crows, that never meddle with any quick flesh; but

¹*Life*, 7-8.

where they may find a dead dog in a ditch, thereto they flee, and thereon they feed apace. . . . Let a good man preach, a short tale shall serve us thereof, and we shall neither much regard his exhortation nor his good examples. But let a lewd friar be taken with a wench, we will jest and rail upon the whole order the year after, and say, Lo! what sample they give us!’¹ Indeed one of the most frequent protests in More’s works is that the faults of wicked priests are multiplied by scandal-mongers, and reported as true of the whole body of the clergy. In the tenth chapter of the *Apology*, he carefully defines his own attitude. Assuming, for the sake of illustration, equal virtue or vice in a priest and a layman, he remarks that the virtue, in his opinion, is much more praiseworthy in the latter; the vice, much more damnable in the former. He points with a clear conscience to his administration of justice in the various offices that he has held. That record, he contends, shows that he has never favoured the clergy indiscriminately, but that, as he has always loved and honoured the good, he has never been remiss in providing for the correction of those that were naught. Nay, he adds, there was no man that had any dealing with them into whose hands they were more loath to come. But Sir Thomas foresaw that the brethren, far from being satisfied with his defence, would not acquit him of their charge unless he should ‘rebuke the clergy, and seek out their faults, and lay them to their faces, and write some work to their shame’. Even though he had been willing to venture upon such a task, he could not see that there was any need of it. For that part Tyndale and Barnes had already played, and left, as he remarks, ‘nothing for me to say therein—not though my mind were sore set thereon.’ Perhaps no other chapter of the *Apology* is so likely to arouse the reader’s sympathy for the apologist. After allowance has been made for the distortions of Fish, the violence of Barnes, and the prejudice of Tyndale, after

¹*Works*, 225. And see the note on p. 55, l. 9.

Saint-German's long list of criticisms has been carefully scanned, it is painfully evident, even without More's sorrowful admissions, that there must have been a considerable basis of truth in the accusations against the clergy. We may easily believe that no one in all England regretted this fact more than Sir Thomas More. In his mind, however, as in the minds of all Catholics, the character of the clergy was a matter quite distinct from the Catholic faith; in the Protestant writings of the period the two things were closely associated. As the heretical attack wound itself around the faults of the clergy, More felt it to be his chief duty to defend the Catholic Church and faith. And when in that defence he was forced to consider the sweeping criticisms that were aimed at the spirituality, he occasionally admitted with sadness that many of them were naught,¹ but he always added with justice that many of them were virtuous. If the addition has a pathetic effect of anti-climax, that effect is due to the melancholy facts themselves. But surely we shall give our sympathy to the man who, while he was defending the faith for which he was willing to die, was leading a life of simplicity, devoutness, and austerity—a life that rebuked the immorality of the clergy more eloquently than any satirical invective that he might have written.²

We may profitably digress here from the general criticisms that were urged against More's controversial works, and, in connection with his attitude toward the clergy, consider one point on which he disagreed with many of them. As we have seen, he has often been misrepresented as becoming ultra-conservative during the time when he was engaged in writing in defence of the Catholic faith—even as being an enemy to reform. It is

¹'I wote well there bee therein [i.e., in the spirituality] many very lewde and naught.' *Works*, 225. And cf. p. 61, ll. 15-22 and p. 62, ll. 5-11 below.

²For glimpses of More's life that warrant this statement see Roper, 219-20, 234; Hallett, 65-75; and note on p. 120, l. 8.

therefore especially worthy of remark that in regard to the question of permitting the Bible to be translated into English, his position was, for his age, distinctly liberal. The importance of this question may be deduced from Tyndale's statement to Henry's ambassador that if the King would authorize an English version he would promise 'never to write more'.¹ In the *Dialogue* More had expressed his own opinion carefully. Every reason that he had ever heard urged against translating the scripture into English, he contended, might be urged with as much justice not only against the holy writers and blessed evangelists who had first written the scripture in Hebrew and Greek, but also against all those who had translated it into Latin. He insisted that the difficulties of the translation into English would be no greater than the difficulties of the previous translation into Latin. Finally, as a compromise, he outlined a scheme by which the ordinaries might regulate the circulation of the English translation in accordance with their judgment and their knowledge of the attainments of the people in their dioceses. To some the first three gospels might be entrusted, and the fourth, forbidden; some might be allowed to read the Acts, but not to meddle with the Apocalypse; many might derive much profit from the Epistle to the Ephesians, yet 'find little fruit for their understanding' in the Epistle to the Romans. For his own part, More made it perfectly clear that, though he had proposed this compromise, he would prefer to see an English translation allowed to circulate without restriction.² By 1533 the theory of private judgment in the interpretation of scripture had developed to such a point as to threaten not only the Catholic faith but any conceivable system of Christian unity. In the *Apology*, therefore, More appears to regard his earlier statement with certain misgivings, but

¹ Demaus, 308-9; Tyndale's Works, xlix, lvii.

² The passages from the *Dialogue* are quoted in the note on p. 13, l. 19.

those misgivings are not strong enough to warrant his retracting it.

Returning now to our consideration of the general criticisms with which More is concerned in the *Apology*, we shall find one or two that may be noticed very briefly. Sufficient attention has already been given to the passing comment with which More answers those who object to his merry tales. Another criticism that he hears from the brethren is that 'those that are learned' find his reasons 'of little force'.¹ In substantiation of this criticism they added that parts of his books had been confuted in certain sermons. It is to be regretted that More thought it worth while to deal with this criticism more fully; yet the space that he gives to it may be regarded as another indication of the earnestness of purpose that underlies all his English works. His reply is to quote and refute two passages from the sermons in question—passages in which the preachers had clearly, though without mentioning his name, referred to his controversial writings. The fifth chapter of the *Apology*, in which More attacks the second of these sermons, though slightly enlivened by a skirmish with Tyndale, is for the most part dreary reading.

Finally, the apologist tells us, 'they say further yet that I have not fulfilled my promise. For I promised, they say, in my Preface of my *Confutation* that I would prove the Church; and that, they say, I have not done.'² What answer could be made to such a criticism? The answer that More actually does make is to refer his readers to the proper passages in the *Dialogue* and the *Confutation* and to offer to defend those passages against any definite attack. We may be said to have here

¹Demaus (282) states that More 'had to confess . . . that the learned denied the force of his reasonings'. I do not read any such confession in More's words. He is quoting the brethren's criticism for the purpose of replying to it, just as he quotes Tyndale's preposterous charge of bribery. See the first paragraph on p. 7 below.

²*Apology*, p. 4, l. 2; pp. 194-96 below.

reached the question, Who won the controversy? Almost every Protestant would give his verdict in favour of Tyndale, I suppose, and every Roman Catholic would give his in favour of More. In other words the answer would depend upon prejudice or upon one's attitude toward the premises. If a real verdict may be said to presuppose an unprejudiced study of the controversial works of both men, the number of persons who are competent to render it may easily be exaggerated.¹ Those who would present as evidence the fact that England revolted from Rome are obviously not confining themselves to the argument. From clerical corruption to the King's determination to secure a divorce, a complexity of causes co-operated directly and indirectly with Tyndale, and operated against More. The criticisms that we have been considering were made by men whom he had not convinced. In fact it must be admitted that argument is not the usual approach to any kind of conversion. More himself, in his attempt to reclaim Roper from a Lutheran errancy, finally decided to abandon the method and resort to prayer.² Today the life that More led and the death that he suffered seem to be his most influential contribution to the defence of the faith. In his own day these considerations must have added greatly to the influence of his writings. Indeed, it is not credible that such earnestness of purpose and such intellectual resources could have failed to sway many who were in doubt. Stapleton tells us that More's English controversial works did great good at the time,³ and I see no reason why the statement should not be accepted. More himself, we may be sure, would have felt repaid for his long

¹ I am not aware that the late James Gairdner, whose competency will not be questioned, ever rendered his verdict. That it would not have been in favour of Tyndale may be inferred, I believe, from his comments. See his *Lollardy*, i, 366-80, and the entire fifth chapter.

² Harpsfield, *Life*, 84-8; Hallett, 70.

³ Hallett, 39; and cf. Harpsfield, *Life*, 207-8.

labour had it dissuaded but one person from accepting the doctrines that seemed to him so pernicious.

TREATMENT OF HERETICS

MODERN interest in the *Apology* has centred chiefly in a biographical passage beginning in the thirty-sixth chapter, in which More notices certain malicious rumours that were circulating among the brethren. These rumours, which accused More of treating heretics cruelly, have been repeated and refuted again and again;¹ but they cannot justly be ignored in an edition of the *Apology*.² Did Sir Thomas More, as Chancellor, cause heretics to be beaten, racked, or otherwise tortured? An affirmative answer has been either openly made or at least implied by Foxe, Burnet, Strype, Froude, Lee, and others. As a collector of malicious gossip Foxe obviously displayed more diligence than discretion. Unfortunately he published the results of his labour as historical facts. Whether or not he ever felt any doubts about them, he certainly did not invent them. The very rumours that disfigure his pages had come to More's ears by the spring of the year 1533, and were indignantly repeated and denied by him in the *Apology*. Thus, for instance, Tyndale had told an acquaintance of More's that the Chancellor had, in his own garden, cruelly mistreated a heretic named Segar.³ In the first place, according to Tyndale, Segar had been bound to a tree and whipped; then he had been tortured by the tightening of a cord wound around his head; finally More had stolen his purse! This Segar, who circulated the slanderous falsehoods, had been in More's house, we learn in the *Apology*, 'about

¹The best defences of More are by Gairdner, *English Church*, 130-2; Seebohm, *N. Brit. Rev.*, xxx, 124-6; Hutton, 216-22; Bridgett, 264-271; Chambers, *Saga*, 14-21.

²*Apology*, p. 134, ll. 11-32.

four or five days, and never had either bodily harm done him, or foul word spoken him' during that time. With regard to Tyndale's statement about the purse, 'that Segar never saw it after,' More's comment is, 'Therein, I trow, he said true; for no more did I neither, nor before neither, nor, I trow, no more did Segar himself neither, in good faith.' These stories reflect the hatred of the brethren for the man who, in their opinion, had done more than anyone else to prevent the spread of their doctrines. More admits that he had been responsible for the corporal punishment of two heretics. The first was a young servant in his own household, who had been detected in spreading his heresy amongst his fellows. More had caused him to be whipped 'like a child' before the entire household. The other case, less clearly a matter of heresy, was that of a man who, after having been at one time confined as a lunatic, and thereafter set at liberty, proceeded to perpetrate indecent pranks in churches at the time of the elevation of the Host. This man More had caused to be whipped publicly; and the punishment seemed to have been successful. For the man had promised to mend his ways, and More had heard no more bad reports of him. For the rest, More's denial is absolute: 'And of all that ever came in my hand for heresy, as help me God, saving, as I said, the sure keeping of them (and yet not so sure neither but that George Constantine could steal away), else had never any of them any stripe or stroke given them, so much as a fillip on the forehead.'¹ Sir James Mackintosh, who quotes this passage, adds the following comment: 'This statement, so minute, so easily confuted, if in any part false, was made public after his fall from power, when he was surrounded by enemies, and could have no friends but the generous. It relates circumstances of public notoriety, or at least so known to all his own household (from which it

¹*Apology*, p. 133, ll. 22-27 below. See also pp. 131-2 and the notes thereon.

appears that Protestant servants were not excluded), which it would have been rather a proof of insanity than of imprudence to have alleged in his defence, if they had not been indisputably and confessedly true.¹ It is noteworthy also that Vaughan, hostile to More, and writing to Cromwell with the express purpose of discrediting information about himself that More had obtained from heretics, intimates that the heretics would accuse anyone to 'escape such tortures and punishments', but makes it evident in the context that the 'tortures and punishments' consisted in being 'tied by the leg with a cold and [heavy] iron, like a beast'.² Like a beast? Yes, if one is writing in an angry mood; also, like many other prisoners. When a heretic was arrested and brought to Chelsea, the law required that he should be delivered to his ordinary within ten days.³ More, as an official, would have questions to ask about the sources from which heretical books had been obtained; as a devout Catholic, he would give all the time he could to loving labour for the man's amendment. But there must have been intervals in which More would have had to leave the prisoner, for whose safe keeping he was responsible. Constantine was sitting with his feet in the stocks when he contrived to effect his escape;⁴ from Vaughan's letter I infer that the prisoner was sometimes 'tied by the leg

¹*Life*, 53. This comment appears to have been rewritten twice. At any rate, I have found two slightly different versions, neither of which is identical with the one that Father Bridgett quotes. The variations themselves are unimportant; but it *is* desirable that some form of the comment should be appended whenever More's denial is quoted.

²Demaus (transcribing from the original copy), 331.

³2 Henry V, s. 1. The actual words are 'dedeinz x. jours apres lour arrest ou pluis tost si ceo purra estre fait'. (Ruffhead, i, 493.) It has been said that Constantine on one occasion was detained for two nights at More's house. More himself tells us that Segar was in his house four or five days; Philips, 'one day or twain'.

⁴From the fact that he was able to break the stocks I should infer that his hands were left free. See the whole passage, with its ironical references to torture, and the perfect good-nature of the last sentence (p. 133, l. 28—p. 134, l. 10).

with a cold and [heavy] iron'—'like a beast', if Vaughan will have it so. Such was the 'torture'—or, from More's point of view, the 'sure keeping'—that heretics had to fear at Chelsea. (It is difficult to escape the feeling that to attempt to substantiate More's denial in this way is to insult his memory. But prejudiced writers have made some such attempt necessary. Many of them have given much space to Foxe's slanderous rumours. Those who have altogether ignored More's denial may have been ignorant of it.) Such an excuse, at best dubious, is hardly admissible when a writer omits the absolute denial that I have quoted above, transcribes with added italics another, and less clear, sentence from the same chapter, and wishes his readers to believe, I suppose, that the man who scorned to save his life by an equivocation was capable of resorting to that device in the hope of screening the fact that he had caused heretics to be beaten!¹

Though the charges of cruelty may be dismissed as without foundation, there are certain other closely related questions that demand consideration—questions which, though they must be answered in the spirit of four centuries ago, will frame themselves in the mood of the present day. In an age when religious indifference passes for broad-mindedness, and when both the

¹ In the sentence to which I refer More admits and justifies the corporal punishment of thieves, murderers, and robbers of churches. In this last class More mentions the cases of men who had entered churches, taken the pyx, and cast it out or carried it away. This is the class that More's enemies would have us regard as including heretics who were unjustly punished. Now it is obvious that men who could commit such sacrilegious crimes *were* heretics; but it is no less obvious that in the commission of those crimes they had laid themselves open to another very serious charge. More's absolute denial, in the form in which I have quoted it above, relates to those who were brought before him for heresy. See the passage in the present text, beginning on p. 131. Specific cases in which it has been alleged that More was guilty either of irregularity or of cruelty are noticed in the notes as follows: Thomas Philips and John Petite, p. 142, l. 6; John Field, p. 143, l. 24; Bainham, p. 98, l. 15; Tewkesbury, p. 105, l. 14.

multiplicity of sects and the prevalence of scepticism have combined to make toleration indispensable, Sir Thomas More's attitude towards heretics is unlikely to find ready comprehension or wide sympathy. Were he living to-day, he would sadly share our views on the necessity of toleration; had we been born in the fifteenth century, most of us would have shared his views on the maintenance of Christian unity. But few of us can now realize the feelings with which, during the last fifteen years of his life, he witnessed the violent attacks upon that unity. Bridgett asserts that to More the word *heresy* meant 'the private choice, by an individual, of a doctrine contradictory to that held to be revealed by the divinely guided society to which that individual had belonged.'¹ Heresy was therefore the most unpardonable of defections. Occasionally More seems to couple it with treason; ordinarily he speaks of it as the worst of crimes. This feeling partly explains the well-known clause in his epitaph, in which he describes himself as '*furibus autem, homicidis, hæreticisque molestus*.'²

The modern mind may be shocked by this feeling; but it is likely to be shocked more violently by More's defence of the cruel punishment that awaited obstinate or relapsed heretics. As a layman, of course, More himself could have no part in their trial or condemnation; his activities were directed to the fulfilment of the duties to which he had been sworn when he became Chancellor—to ordering the arrest of persons who had been either implicated in the traffic in prohibited books or detected of heresy. But though his official responsibility ended when he surrendered a heretic to the ordinary, the fact remains that he did protest against any relaxation of the laws by which that heretic was to be tried and, if found

¹ *Life*, 261. The definition may be justified by scores of passages in More's works. In the present text cf., pp. 22, 31, 47-48. See also Gairdner's remarks, *English Church*, 26-27.

² *Works*, 1420. For More's comment in a letter to Erasmus see Hallett, 29.

guilty, punished. To-day the reader of the *Utopia* will be likely to ask how it was possible for the man who had anticipated the modern theory of the punishment of crime, to defend the stake and the flames, the mediæval punishment for heresy. Here, too, there is something to be said in explanation of More's attitude. It will not be sufficient to remind ourselves that toleration was not yet possible, though that fact seems often enough to be ignored or forgotten. The intolerance of the German Protestants is repeatedly pointed out in More's writings.¹ Neither Barnes, the most violent of his opponents, nor Saint-German, the mildest of them, proposed the abolition of the stake.² It must also be remembered that this terrible punishment had been prescribed by the laws of all the states of Europe and had been approved by the Church.³ It must be emphasized—for More often emphasizes this fact—that the heretics of his day were attacking, in terms that seemed to him hideously blasphemous, sacraments and doctrines that were sacred to the great majority of Englishmen, and that in spite of royal and episcopal prohibition, they were scattering their books and secretly spreading their teachings among the common people. Spreading their teachings, to More's mind, literally meant spreading damnation among human souls. Without realizing this, one can never understand the grounds for his attitude. Moreover, in the bitter dissension among the heretics themselves¹ and in the manner in which most of them had

¹*Works*, 352, 715-6. Cf. Gairdner, *English Church*, 54-5.

²For the tolerance of Barnes see Gairdner's article (*D. N. B.*). Though Saint-German proposes certain modifications in the provisions for the arrest and trial of heretics, he admits that laymen are bound to be ready to 'oppress heresies' and that it is expedient that strict laws be made for the punishment of heresies 'more rather than any other offence' (223 below).

³Lea, i, 537, 221, 224-5, 536-41; F. W. Maitland, 79-80. For texts quoted from the New Testament in support of the sentence of excommunication see More's *Works*, 285. And cf., also *ibid.*, 276-7.

⁴Cf. *Works*, 179, 716, 724, 817.

met the final test More had seen little to inspire respect for their beliefs. Most of them had been persuaded to renounce their utterances. Of the few who had been brought to the stake almost all had previously recanted; two or three recanted again, when recantation could no longer save them.¹ In More's official dealings with individual heretics he had repeatedly found them guilty of deception, treachery toward one another, and perjury.² In his judgment of them as a class there was also a political element of great importance. Their utterances frequently reminded him of the days of Henry V. Indeed, he apparently found slight ground for discriminating between many of the heretics of his own day and the Lollards. His judgment of the latter sect echoes the language of Parliament. In a statute of Henry IV he found these earlier heretics described as inciting to sedition and insurrection, as making great strife and division among the people, and as daily perpetrating other horrible enormities. In a statute of Henry V he read that they had attempted to subvert the Christian faith, and to destroy not only the King and the estates of the realm, but also the laws of the land.³ In the Peasants' War and in the violence that had attended the Reformation in various parts of Germany and Switzerland, More had seen his worst fears realized. Two years before he published his *Dialogue* the imperial army had sacked Rome. The horrors of that sack are almost beyond the possibility of belief. The very hideousness of the outrages has prevented their being widely known. Upon such a scene historians naturally

¹ Gairdner, *English Church*, 50-56, 128-30; *Lollardy*, 392, n.; and cf. the notes on p. 98, ll. 15 and 16; l. 16, p. 105, ll. 12 and 14 below.

² 'For never could I find heretic yet that any conscience had in any oath. And of truth Tyndale in his answer to my *Dialogue* teacheth them that they may break their oath and be forsworn without any scruple at all.' (*Works*, 345.) For the passage to which More refers see Tyndale, iii, 147.

³ *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 125, 181; Ruffhead, i, 440, 493.

prefer to bestow only general comments, to speak of 'terrific and excruciating' atrocities, 'too revolting to be described', and of 'barbarities worse than those of Alaric and the Goths'. In the fourth book of the *Dialogue* More devotes one page to a description of these atrocities. It is not a page to be quoted. He attributes them chiefly to the German heretics.¹ He narrates the 'exquisite cruelties', as he takes pains to state, 'that ye may perceive by their deeds what good cometh of their sect. For, as our Saviour saith, "Ye shall know the tree by the fruit."'

This is a fair statement, I believe, of the causes of More's attitude. And we may now turn to his own words to find out more precisely what that attitude was. In the forty-ninth chapter of the *Apology* he explains it carefully:

'As touching heretics, I hate that vice of theirs, and not their persons; and very fain would I that the one were destroyed, and the other saved. And that I have toward no man any other mind than this—how loudly soever these blessed new brethren, the professors and preachers of verity, belie me—if all the favour and pity that I have used among them to their amendment were known, it would, I warrant you, well and plain appear—whereof, if it were requisite, I could bring forth witnesses, mo than men would ween.

'And sure, this one thing will I be bold to say, that I never found any yet but, had he been never so bad, nor done never so much harm before, yet after that I found him once changed and in good mind to mend, I have been so glad thereof that I have used him from thenceforth, not as an evil man or an abject, nor as a stranger neither, but as a good man and my very friend.

¹*Works*, 258-9. To question whether More had been misinformed would be irrelevant; we are concerned merely with what he unquestionably believed to be the facts. In defending the terrible punishment of heretics by pointing out their own violence he reverts repeatedly to the time of St. Augustine and the Donatists. Cf. *Works*, 274-6, 715.

'Howbeit, because it were neither right nor honesty that any man should look for more thank than he deserveth, I will that all the world wit it on the other side that whoso be so deeply grounded in malice—to the harm of his own soul, and other men's too—and so set upon the sowing of seditious heresies that no good means that men may use unto him can pull that malicious folly out of his poisoned, proud, obstinate heart—I would rather be content that he were gone in time than overlong to tarry to the destruction of other.'¹

Shall we then attribute to More, as Carlyle attributed to Dante, that heroic combination of infinite pity and infinite rigour of law? To many this will seem just. Yet Dante's character was stern; More's was kind. There is not a hard line in Erasmus's famous portrait. Roper, who lived in his house for sixteen years, never once saw him 'in a fume'.² His delicate attentions to his poorer neighbours, his personal interest in those who were needy, and his careful provision for their relief—it is not of such stuff that sternness is made.³ Those who knew him personally were impressed by his tenderness and his thoughtfulness for others. Is there a real paradox in his character?⁴ Did the man whose nature was so full of tender pity and charity harden himself to steel when a heretic faced him?⁵ Or was the infinite rigour of law

¹ *Apology*, p. 190, l. 16—p. 191, l. 7 below.

² *Life*, 226.

³ More's *Works*, 1418-19; Harpsfield, *Life*, 56; Stapleton, 27; Hallett's translation, 72-3, 92.

⁴ Cf. Lee's paragraph (62) on the paradoxes of More's career.

⁵ The notion that More began to gnash his teeth, or that his character was suddenly transformed, at the sight of a heretic is coming to be recognized as ridiculous. Indeed, I can see no reason to suppose that he would molest any heretic who kept his heresies to himself and did not actually violate the laws. Sir James Mackintosh, as we have seen, infers that Protestant servants were not excluded from his household. Harpsfield (*Life*, 84) tells us that Roper was 'a meruailous zealous Protestant' when he married More's daughter. Grinaeus, an avowed Lutheran, was received as a guest in More's house, and though warned that he must not utter his religious opinions in England, was loaded

his theory, and the infinite pity his practice? Let us again turn to More's own words and consider a sentence that he wrote about the exasperating case of Thomas Philips. In the course of an inquiry into the traffic in the prohibited heretical books Philips had been repeatedly implicated. 'I sent for' him, More writes, 'and when I had spoken with him, and honestly entreated him one day or twain in mine house, and laboured about his amendment in as hearty, loving manner as I could—when I perceived finally the person such that I could find no truth neither in his word nor his oath, and saw the likelihood that he was, in the setting forth of such heresies closely, a man meet and likely to do many folk much harm, I by indenture delivered him to his ordinary.'¹ Perhaps this sentence will throw as much light as another upon our question. More hated heretics as a class, chiefly because he believed that in spreading their doctrines they were leading souls to damnation. When the individual heretic was brought before him, however, More did not harden his heart; instead, he laboured for the man's amendment in as hearty and as loving manner as he could, sparing neither time, nor arguments, nor persuasion. If his utmost efforts had no effect, he delivered the man to his ordinary, as indeed he was bound to do, preferring that the law should take its course rather than that the heretic should endanger others. In this attitude there is much both of pity and rigour. More's enemies, and the enemies of his religion, will emphasize the rigour. More's friends will emphasize the hearty, loving labour for the man's amendment. They will remember the words that More hastened to

with courtesies and aided in his scholarly researches (Hallett, 62-64). Though there is some uncertainty about the year in which Coverdale was More's guest on Easter Eve (*L. & P.*, v, 221, and n.), it was probably after Coverdale had come under the Lutheran influence of Barnes.

¹*Apology*, 142 below. Philips was imprisoned but not brought to the stake. See the note, already referred to, on p. 142, l. 6.

add after expressing a fear that Frith was imperilling his body and soul by his attacks on the Blessed Sacrament: 'Now in these words I neither meant nor mean that I would it were so. For so help me God, and none otherwise, but as I would be glad to take more labour, loss, and bodily pain also than peradventure many a man would ween to win that young man to Christ and His true faith again'.¹

¹*Apology*, 137-8 below.

Syr Thomas More
knyght to the cry
sten reders.

The fyrst chapyter.

SO well stand I not (I thanke god) good reader in myne own conceyte, & thereby so myche in myne owne lyghte, but that I can somewhat with egall iudgement and an eyn yie, byholde and consyder both my selfe and myne owne. Nor I vse not to folowe the condycion of Isopes ape, *that* thought her own babes so beutuouse, & so farre passyng in all goodly feature and fauour / nor the crow that accompted her own byrdes the fayrest of all the fowles that flew. But like as some (I se well) there are, that can somewhat lesse then I, that yet for all that put oute theyr workes in wrytynge: so am I not so blynde vppon the tother syde, but that I very well perceyue, very many so farre in wyt and erudicyon aboue me, that in such mater as I haue any thyng wryten, yf other men, as many wolde haue take yt in hand as could haue done yt better, yt myght myche better haue becomen me to let the mater alone, then by wrytyng to presume any thing to medle therwyth.

And therefore good reader, syth I so well know so many men so farre excell & passe me, in all such thynges as are requyred in hym that myght aduenture to put his workes abroad, to stand and abyde the iudgement of all other men: I was neuer so farre ouersene, as eyther to loke or hope that such fautes as in my wrytyng sholde by myne ouersyght escape me, coulde by the yien of all other men passe forth vnspied / but shortely sholde be

I am not blind to the faults in my writing.

It would not have become me to undertake such work if other men, who were better qualified, had been willing to do so.

I never expected my faults to escape the notice of the learned or the eager condemnation of the brethren.

both by good and well lerned perceyued / and among so many badde bretherne as I wyst well wold be wroth wyth *them*, shold be both sought out and syfted to the vttermost flake of branne, and largely theruppon controlled and reprovued.

But since I am defending the Catholic faith, the faults cannot be such as to endanger the reader's salvation.

But yet agaynste all thys feare this one thyng recomforted me, that syth I was of one poynte very faste and sure, that such thynges as I wryte are consonaunt vnto the comen catholyque fayth & determynacyons of Chrystes catholyque chyrch, & are clere confutations of false blasphemouse heresyces by Tyndale and Barons put forthe vnto the contrarye / any great faute and intollerable sholde they none finde, of such maner sort and kynde as *the* readers shold in theyr soules peryshe and be destroyed by / of whyche poysened fautes myne aduersaryes bokes be full.

I have not doubted that the reader would be indulgent toward less serious faults, such as occur in all men's writing

Now then as for other fautes of lesse weyght and tolerable / I nothyng doutyd nor do, but that euery good chrysten reader wyll be so reasonable and indyfferent, as to pardon in me the thyng that happeth in all other *men* / and that no suche man wyll ouer me be so sore an audytour, & ouer my bokes suche a sore controller, as to charge me with any great losse, by gatherynge to gether of many such thynges as are wyth very fewe men aughte regarded / and to loke for suche exacte cyrcumspeccon and sure syght to be by me vsed in my wrytynge, as except the prophetis of god, and Cryste and his apostles, hath neuer I wene be founden in any mannes elles byfore / that is to wit to be perfyte in euery poynte clene from all maner of fautes / but hath alway ben holden for a thyng excusable, though the reader in a longe worke perceyue that the wryter haue as Horace sayth of Homere, here and there some tyme fallen in a litle slomber / in whyche places as the reader seeth that the writer slept, so vseth he of courtesy yf he can not slepe, yet for *company* at the leste wyse to nappe and wynke with him, and leue his dreame vnchekked. whyche kynde of courtesy yf I sholde shew how often I

and such, indeed, as I have often overlooked in the works of both Tyndale and Barnes.

haue vsed wyth Tyndale and Barons both, wynkyng at theyr tolerable fautes, and suche as I rather thought neglygently escaped them of ouersyght or foly, then dylygently deuysed of wyly falsed or malyce: yf I wolde adde all those fautes to theyr other, then sholde I double in length all my bokes, in whyche the bretherne fynd for the speciall faute, that they be to longe all redy.

But all be it that whan I wrote I was (as I haue tolde you) bolded and encoraged by the comon custume of all indyfferent readers, which wold I wyst well perdon and holde excused suche tolerable ouersyght in my wrytyng, as men may fynde some in any mannys all moste that euer wrote before: yet am I now myche more glad and bolde, whan I se *that* those folke whiche wolde faynest fynde my fawtes, can not yet happen on them / but after longe sekyng and serchyng for them, for all theyr bysynesse taken there aboute, are fayne to put for fawtes in my wrytyng, suche thynges as well consydered shall appere theyr owne fawtes for the fyndyng.

I am now encouraged by the fact that the most eager fault-finders have succeeded only in condemning themselves.

For they fynde fyrste for a great fawte, that my wrytyng is ouer longe, and therfore to tedyouse to rede. For whyche cause they say they will neuer ons vouchsaufe to loke theron.

They have said that my writings are too long;

But than say they ferther, that suche places of theym as are loked on by those that are lerned and can skyll, be soone perceyued for nought, & my reasons of lytell force. For they bost mych that they here somtyme diuers partes of my bokes answered and confuted fully in sundry of some mennes sermons, though my name be forborne / & than they wysshe me there they saye, for that it wolde do theyr hartes good to se my chekes redde for shame.

that my arguments have been refuted;

And ouer thys they fynde a greate fawte, that I handle Tyndale and Barons theyr two newe gospellers, with no fayrer wordes nor in no more courteyse maner.

that my treatment of Tyndale and Barnes has been discourteous;

And ouer thys I wryte they say in such wyse, that I shew my selfe suspecte in the mater & parciall toward the clergy.

that I have become suspect through partiality to the clergy;

that my works
would have de-
served more cre-
dence if I had
written impar-
tially,

And than they saye that my wurkes were wurthy myche more credence, yf I had wryten more indyfferently, and had declared and made open to the peple the fawtes of the clergy.

like the author
of the recent
book upon the
division between
the temporality
and the spiritu-
ality;

And in this poynt they laye for a sample the goodly and godly mylde & gentle fashyon vsed by hym who so euer he was, that now lately wrote *the boke of the deuision* bytwene the temporaltye and the spyrytualty / whyche charytable mylde maner they say that yf I had vsed, my wurkes wold haue ben redde both of many mo, & wyth mych better wyll.

that I deal dis-
honestly with
Tyndale's text;

And yet they saye bysydes all thys, that I do but pyke oute pyeces at my pleasure, suche as I maye moste easily seme to soyle / & leue out what me lyst, and suche as wolde playnely proue the mater agaynste me. And so they saye that I vse but crafte & fraude agaynste Tyndale. For as for frere Barons I perceyue by sundry wayes, that the bretherhed speke myche lesse of hym, eyther for that they find hym in theyr owne myndes well and fully answered, or ellys *that* they take him in respect of Tindale but for a man of asecundesorte. And that maye peradventure be, bycause he leueth out somewhat that Tindale taketh in, that is to wyt the makynge of mockes and mowys agaynste the masse, & the blessed sacrament of the aulter.

and that I have
not fulfilled my
promise to prove
the Church.

But fynally they saye farther yet, that I haue not fulfilled my promyse. For I promysed they saye in my preface of my confutacyon, *that* I wold proue the chyrche / and that they saye I haue not done.

The second chapter.

Now wyll I begyn with that poynt that I most esteme. For of al the remanau^{nt} make I litle coun^{te}. But surely loth wold I be to misse reherse any mannys reason agaynste whome I wryte, or to reherse hym slenderly. And in that poynt vndoutedly they se full well them selfe, that they saye not trew. For there is no reason

It is not true
that I have mis-
represented the
arguments of
Tyndale or
Barnes,

that I reherse of Tyndales or of frere Barns eyther, but that I vse the contrarye maner therin that Tyndale vseth with myne. For he reherseth myne in euery place faintly and falsely to / and leueth out the pyth and the strength, and the profe that moste maketh for the purpose. And he fareth therin, as yf there were one that hauynge day of chalenge appoynted, in whyche he sholde wrestle with his aduersary, wold fynde the mean by craft to gete his aduersary byfore the day into his owne handes, and there kepe hym & dyet hym with such a thynne diete, that at the day he bryngeth hym forth feble, faynte, and famyshed, and all moste hunger storuen, and so lene that he can scant stand on his legges / and then is yt ethe ye wote well to geue the sely soule a fall. And yet when Tyndale hath done all this, he taketh the fall hym selfe.

though Tyndale has misrepresented mine.

But euery man maye well se, that I neuer vse that way wyth Tyndale nor wyth any of these folke / but I reherse theyr reason to the beste that they can make yt them selfe / and I rather enforce yt and strength it of myne own, then take any parte of theirs there from.

I state the arguments of these writers fully. I even elaborate

And this vse I not onely in suche places as I do not reherse all theyr owne wordes (for that is not requysyte in euery place) but I vse yt also in suche places besyde, as of all theyr owne wordes I leue not one syllable out. For such darkenes vse they purposely, & Tyndale in especyall, that excepte I toke some payne to set out theyr agumentes¹ plainly many that rede theym sholde lytle wyt what they meane.

and explain them,

And to thentent euery man may se *that* these good bretherne lytle care how lowde they lye: let any man loke who so wyl / and he shal fynd, that of frere Barons I haue left out lytle, except a lefe or two concerning the generall counsayles, and I shew the cause why / & as for Tyndale of dyuerse whole chapyters of his, I haue not wyttyngly left oute one lyne / & very few I am sure of ouersyght eyther, but haue put in all his chapyters

often quoting whole chapters verbatim.

¹ 'agumentes': argumentes '57.

whole, wheruppon any weyght of his mater hangeth, excepte onely in the defence of such englysh wordes as he hath chaunged in his translacion of the new testament. And yet therin they *can* neuer say, but that I haue put in all the strength and pith of his profe.

But all the remanaunt of hys chapyters, as farre as I haue goone haue I putte in whole, leuyng out noughte but raylynge and preachyng wythoute profe / and that but in one place or twayne / and where I so do, I geue the reader warnyng.

These statements may be verified by a comparison of my quotations and summaries with the original texts.

Now that his chapyters be whole rehersed in my boke, I suppose yt maye metely well appere by the mater consequently pursuyng, if the reader leue my wordes out bytwene, and rede but Tyndales alone. Or yf any one worde or some few left out of chaunce putte that profe in doute / yet haue the brethern among them I warraunt you of Tyndales bokes inough, by whyche they may trye this trew.

I challenge any one to cite a single instance of misrepresentation.

And well ye wote yf this were vntrew that I say, some of *them* could assigne at the lest wyse some one suche place for a sample. But that thyng neyther do they, nor neuer can whyle they lyue.

The thyrd chapyter

NOwe where as these good blessed bretherne say, *that* my wrytyng is so long and so tedyouse, that they wil not ones vouchsaufe to loke theron / they shew *them* self that my wrytyng is not so longe as theyre wyttes be shorte / and the yien of theyr soules very poore blynde, whyle they can not se so farre, as to perceyue that in fyndyng so many fautes in that boke, whych they confesse *them* selfe they neyther rede nor canne fynd in theyr hert to loke vppon, they shew theym selfe eyther of lyghtnes redy to geue hasty credence to other folke, or of malyce to make many lyes *them* selfe.

In spite of their complaint that the work is tedious

It is lytle meruayle that yt seme long and tedyouse vnto them to rede yt ouer wythin, whome yt irketh to

do so myche as loke yt ouer wythout / & euery way semeth long to hym that is wery ere he begynne.

But I fynde some men agayne, to whome the redyng is so farre fro tedyouse, that they haue redde the hole boke ouer thryes / and some that make tables therof for theyr owne remembraunce / & that suche men as haue as myche wytte and lernynge both, as the best of all thys blessed bretherhed that euer I herd of.

How be it gladde wolde I haue bene yf it myghte haue ben mych more shorte / for than sholde my labour haue ben so mych the lesse.

But they wyll yf they be resonable men, consyder in them selfe that it is a shorter thyng and soner done to wryte heresydes than to answeere them. For the most folyshe heretyke in a town, may write mo fals heresydes in one lefe, than the wysest man in the hole world can well and conueniently by reason and authoryte soyle & confute in fourtye.

Now whan that Tyndale not onely techeth false heresydes, but furnysheth hys errorrs also wyth pretence of reason and scripture / and in stede of reason somtyme with blont subtyltyes and rude ridyls,¹ to the makynge open & lyghtesome to the reader, the darke wrytyng of hym that wold not by his wyll be well perceyued, hath putte me to more laboure and lengthe in answeyng, than some man wold peraduenture haue ben contente to take.

And I somtyme take the payne to reherse some one thyng in dyuerse faschyons in mo places than one, bycause I wolde that the reder sholde in euery place where he fortuneth to fall in redyng, haue at hys hand wythout remyttyng ouer ellys where, or labour of fether sekynge for it, as mych as shall seme requysyte for the mater that he there hath in hande. And therin the labour of all that lengthe ys myne owne, for ease & shortenynge of the readers payne. Now on the other syde, as for Tyndale and Barnes, I wote nere well whether I may call them longe or short.

¹ 'ridyls, to': ridyls to, *ed.*

other men, I find, have read the *Confutation* three times and outlined its arguments.

A page of heretical writing may require forty pages of refutation,

especially if the heresies seem to be plausible and supported by scripture.

The length of my works is due partly to methods adopted for the reader's convenience.

The writings of Tyndale and Barnes

For somtyme they be short in dede, bycause they wolde be darke, and haue theyr false folyes passe and repasse all vnperceyued.

Some tyme they can vse such a compendyouse kynde of eloquence, that they conuay and couche vp to gether, with a wonderfull breuyte, four folyes and fīue lyes in lesse then as many lynes.

seem to me in
effect long.

But yet for all this, I se not in effect any men more long then they. For they preache some tyme a longe processe to very lytle purpose. And syth that of all theyre whole purpose, they proue in conclusyon neuer a pyece at al, were theyr wrytynge neuer so shorte / yet were theyre whole worke at laste to longe by all to gether.

But it is no
marvel that
these brethren
find my works
too long, for
they wish to do
away with parts
of the rosary, the
creed,

the mass,

the portas and
the primer,

and with all of
the litany

and all of the
Dirige.

But greatly can I not meruayle, though these euan-gelicall brethern thinke my workes to long. For euery thyng thynke they to longe that ought is.

Our ladies psalter thinke they to longe by all the Aue Maryes / & some good pyece of the Crede to.

Then the masse thynk they to longe by the secretes, and the canon, and all the colectis wherin mencyon is made eyther of saintes or soules.

In stede of a longe portuouse, a shorte prymer shall serue them. And yet the prymer they thynke to longe by all our lady matens.

And the seuen Psalmes thinke they long inough without the lateny.

And as for Dyrge or commendacyon for their frendes soules, all that seruyce they thynke to longe by all to gether.

But now good readers, I haue vnto these delycat daynty folke that can awaye wyth no longe redynge, prouydedyth myne own payne and labour, as myche ease as my poore wyt coulede deuysse.

Those who
have been led
astray by read-
ing heretical
books ought at
least to be will-
ing to read the
answers to those
books.

Fyrste when they were byfore faste in the catholyque fayth, they neuer neded to haue redde any of these heretiques bokes, *that* haue brought them in to these new fangled fantasies. But now syth they be by theyr

owne folly, fallen fyrste into doutynge of the trouth and afterwarde into the lenyng towarde a false bylyefe / they be very neglygent & vnreasonable, yf they wyll not at the leste wyse for theyr owne suerty, serche & se somewhat, wherby they maye perceyue whyther these newe teachers of theyres be suche as they take them for.

Now haue I then consydered, *that* they wold peraduenture waxe wery to rede ouer a long boke / and therefore haue I taken the more payne vppon euery chapyter, to thentent that they shal not nede to rede ouer any chapyter but one, & that yt shall not force greatly whych one thorow out all the boke.

I have taken such pains upon my *Confutation* that the reader may confyne his attention to any single chapter.

For I dare be bold to say, and am redy to make yt good with the beste euangelyst of all this euangelycall bretherhed that wyll set his penne to the contrary, *that* there is not one chapyter of Tyndales or Barns eyther, that I haue touched thorowe myne whole worke, but that I haue so clere and so fully confuted hym, that who so rede yt indyfferently, maye well and clerely se that they handle theyr mater so falsly, and yet so folysshely therwyth, that no man whyche regardeth eyther trouth or wit, sholde ones vouchesaufe to rede any farther of them.

He will find the heresies of Tyndale or Barnes so clearly confuted in that chapter.

that he will not need to read more, either in their works or in mine.

Now he that wyll therefore rede any one chapyter, eyther at aduenture, or ellys some chosen pyece in whyche hym selfe had went that hys euangelycall father Tyndale had sayed wonderfull well, or els frere Barns eyther / when he shall in that one chapyter as I am sure he shall, fynde his holy prophete playnely proued a fole, he maye be soone eased of any ferther laboure. For than hath he good cause to caste hym quyte of, and neuer medle more wyth hym / & than shall he neuer nede to rede more of my booke neyther, and so shall he make it shorte inough.

How be it yf he lyste for all that to perdon hys prophete in that one place, and thynke that he wrote that pyece peraduenture whyle the spyryte was not vpon

But if he insists on reading further in the hope of finding some of their arguments unanswered, he need not blame me for the length of the book.

hym, and that he sayth mych better in some other place, and so wyll rede on ferther to fynde it: than shal hym self make my worke longe. For he shall I truste rede it ouer, and yet shall he neuer come to it. And thus as for the tedyouse length of my wrytynge, I haue I truste without greate length geuen the good bretherhed a suffycient answer.

The .iiii. chapyter.

Perhaps the brethren may say that I speak thus confidently, because men do not dare to defend Tyndale.

But unfortunately, heretical utterances are not now diligently controlled,

BUt now wyll the bretherne peraduenture saye, that I may be bolde to say very largely of myn own, bycause men may not be bold *in* these maters to defend Tindals parte.

It were in dede somewhat better then it is, yf they sayed trewe. But neyther are suche thynges so dyligently controlled, nor such folke so ferd of suche heretycall fauour, as they shold be yf euery man dyd hys parte / nor they lacke no wyly dryftes in such wyse also to defend those thynges, as they may saue for *them* selfe some colour to saye that they ment none harme.

and the brethren themselves boast that I have been confuted in some of their sermons.

And to proue that they be neyther so sore aferde in such thynges, nor lacke suche inuencions of vtteryng theyr forbode~~n~~ ware, bysyde the bold erronyous talkynge that is now all moste in euery lewde laddys mouth / the bretherne bost that they here diuers partes of my boke well & playnly in sundry of theyr sermons confuted / & than they can not saye ye se well that they leue me vnanswered for fere.

Howe be it though they be bolde vpon some partes euen now / some partes happely there are wherupon they dare not be so bolde yet, but lytle & lytle wyll peraduenture hereafter.

How be yt some partes that they be all redy bolde vpon, be metely well for a begynnyng / whereof for ensample I shall remember you one or twayne.

Tyndales false translacion of the new testament was (as ye wote well and as hym selfe confesseth) trranslated

wyth suche chaunges as he hath made therein purposely, to the entent that by those wordes chaunged, the people shold be noseled in those opinions whiche hym selfe calleth trew catholyque fayth, and whyche thynges all trew catholyque people call very false pestylent heresyes.

Of Tyndale's heretical translation of the New Testament,

This translacion therfore beyng by the clergy condemned, & at Poules crosse openly burned, and by the kynges graciouse proclamacyon openly forboden: I wrote in a place of my dyaloge in *the .C.* lefe among other thynges these wordes.

after it had been condemned and burned,

I said in my Dialogue:

'The fautes be so many in Tyndals translacyon of the new testament / and so spred thorough the hole boke / that lyke wyse as it were as sone done to weue a new webbe of cloth / as to sowe vppe euery hole in a net / so were it almost as lytell labour and lesse, to translate the hole booke all new / as to make in hys translacyon so many chaunges as nede must be ere it were made good / besydes thys that there wolde no wyse man I trow take the brede whych he well wyste was of hys enemyes hand onys poysoned / though he saw his frend after scrape it neuer so clene.'

The faults are so many that it would be as little labour to translate the whole book anew as to correct them;

These wordes of myne were rehersed in a sermon, and answered in this wyse, *that* though there were brede that were poysoned in dede, yet were poysoned brede better then no brede at all.

indeed no wise man would take the bread that his enemy had poisoned, even though he afterwards saw his friend scrape it clean.

Now was this word taken vppe, & walked about abroad among the bretherne and systerne, so hyghly well lyked amonge them, that some of them sayd that all my reasons were auoyded clene wyth that one worde.

These words of mine were quoted in a sermon, with the retort that poisoned bread was better than no bread at all.

How be it in dede one of theyr owne wyues yet told her own husbande at home, when she harde hym boste yt, how iolyly yt was preached better poysoned brede then no brede / by our laken brother husbande quod she, but as properly as that was preched, yet wold I rather abyde the perell of bredyng wormes in my bely by eating of flesh without brede, then to eate wyth my meate the brede *that* I wyste well were poysoned.

The retort became popular among the brethren,

but the wife of one of them gave it a fitting answer.

And of trouth good reader, this worde of his was one

of the moste proude and presumptuouse, and therewyth the most vnwyse to, that euer I harde passe the mouth of any man reputed and taken for wyse.

Since Tyn-
dale's transla-
tion had been
examined and
condemned by
the proper au-
thorities, it was
presumptuous in
the preacher to
encourage the
people to disobey
their prince
and prelates.

For when the thyng had ben examyned, consydered, & condempned, by suche as the iudgement and the orderyng of the thyng dyd apperteyne vnto, that false poysened translacyon was forboden the people / it was an heyghnouse presumpcyon of one man, vppon the truste of his owne wyt, to geue the people corage and boldenesse to resyste theyre prynce and disobey their prelates, and geue them no better staffe to stande by, then suche a bald poysened reason, that poysened brede is better then no brede.

For fyrste I pray you how proueth he that poysened bred were better then no brede. I wolde wene yt were as good to forbere meate & starue for hunger, as to eate rattis bane and dye by poyson / but yf the precher proue me that it were better for a man to kyll hym selfe then dye.

The preacher's
retort is based
upon the as-
sumption that
the people would
perish for lack
of spiritual sus-
tenance unless
the scripture
were translated
into their own
language.

But now falleth he in double foly / for fyrst hys proper wyse worde can haue no wyt therin, but yf he proue that the people must nedes perishe for lacke of spyrytuall foode, excepte the scripture be translated into theyr owne tonge.

But obviously
all things neces-
sary for their
salvation may
be preached to
them even
though no trans-
lation be made;

Now if he say and afferme that / then euery fole almoste may fele the mannys foly. For the people may haue euery necessary trewth of scripture, and euery thyng necessary for them to know, concernynge the saluacyon of theyr soules, trewly taught and preched vnto theym, though the corps and bodye of the scripture be not translated vnto them in theyr mother tonge. For ellys hadde it ben wrong wyth englyshe peple from the fayth fyrste brought into this realme, vnto our own dayes / in all whyche tyme byfore, I am sure that euery englyshe man and woman that coulde rede yt, hadde not a boke by theym of the scripture in englyshe. And yet is there I dout not of those folke many a good saued soule.

else it would
have fared ill
with all our
forefathers.

And secondly also, yf the hauynge of the scrypture in englyshe, be a thyng so requysyte of precise necessitye, that the peoples soules sholde nedes perysh but yf they haue it translated into theyre owne tonge: then muste there the most part perishe for all that, except the preacher make farther prouysyon besyde, that all the people shall be able to rede yt when they haue yt / of which people farre more then four partes of all the whole dyuyded into tenne, could neuer rede englyshe yet, and many now to olde to begynne to go to scole, & shall wyth goddes grace though they neuer rede worde of scrypture, come as well to heuen, & as sone to, as hym self peraduenture that preched *that* wyse word. Many haue thought yt a thing very good & profitable, that *the* scrypture well and trewly translated sholde be in the englyshe tong. And all be yt that many ryghte wyse and well lerned bothe, & very vertuose folke also, bothe haue bene and yet be in a farre other mynde: yet for myne owne parte, I both haue bene and yet am also of the same opynyon styll, as I haue in my dyaloge declared, yf the men were amended and the tyme mete therefore. But that it were a thyng of suche precyse necessitye, that the peoples soulys muste nedes perysshe but yf that be had / and that therefore we sholde suffer rather such a poysoned translacyon then none, and wylfully kyll our selfe wyth poyssen rather thenne we wolde take holesome mete in at our mouth but yf we maye fyrste haue it in our own handes: thys herd I neuer any wise man say, no nor fole neyther, tyll Tindale came forth wyth his new translated scrypture, translatynge the truth of Cryste into false Luthers heresy.

The preacher's assumption involves the provision that all the people must also be able to read; but half of them cannot.

Under certain conditions I should be glad to see the Bible properly translated into English, but I do not regard such a translation as imperative.

And yet whan the bretherne haue herde such a wyse word in a sermone / that worde vse they to take solempnely for a sure authoritye, and saye that all the longe reasons of syr Thomas More is here answered shortly wyth one worde.

The brethren found in this preacher's one foolish retort an answer to all my reasons.

But now haue I with mo wordes than one, made you playne and open the foly of that wyse worde.

And whan so euer he that preched it, can herafter again wyth many mo wordes than I haue here wryten, proue his worde wysely spoken / let hym kepe one cotype therof wyth hym selfe for lesynge, & sende an other to me / and than that cotype that I receyue, I wyll be bounden to eate it though the booke be bounden in bordes.

The . v . chapyter.

The brethren have also boasted that an effective answer has been made to that chapter of my *Confutation* in which I dealt with the question, whether the Church was before the Word, or the Word before the Church.

AN other sample of such kynde of answeyng have I sene made vnto the fyrste chapyter of my thyrd boke of Tyndals *confutacyon* / of whyche answer the brethren boste greatly and say that I am answered euyn to the poynt.

This boasted answer, I learned, was made in a sermon, openly preached.

For thys worde was sayd vnto a frend of myne in great boste, by a specyall sure secret brother of thys newe broched brotherhed / wherupon when I had herde it, I longed sore to se that answer. For in good fayth I had my self thought, that I had so fully answered that chapyter of Tyndals, whyche is whyther the chyrche were before the worde or the worde before the chyrche / that he sholde neuer wythout hys shame be able to reply whyle he lyued. And therefore longyng sore to se how I was answered now therin / I requyred my frend to fynde the meanes yf he myghte, that I myghte se the boke / wenyng that some newe worke of Tyndals hadde bene of late come ouer. But afterwarde he brought me word that it was answered not beyond the see, but here wythin the realme / not by any booke specyally made agaynste it, but in a sermon onys or twyes openly preched. How be it not of a sodayn brayed, but fore studyed and penned / wherof the boke as a spyryte in close gooth aboute secretly, *velut negotium perambulans in tenebris*, amonge thys blessed bretherhed / but I trust to turne it into *demonium meridianum*, that euery man maye se hym somewhat more playne appere, and shewe hym self in hys owne lykenesse.

Now is it so in dede, that in that chapyter of Tyndals there be certayne lyuys¹ lefte out in myne answer. How be it they were of trouth left out by ouersyght in the prynting whyche maye well appere by thys. For in myne answer I so touche those wordes, that the leuyng out of them maketh myne owne more darke and lesse perceyued. And therefore are they content to fynde no fawte at the leuyng out of them, but make as though all were in / & also bycause that myne answer is as they bost by that sermon,² so well & substancyally confuted.

For obvious reasons the brethren do not complain of the accidental omission of certain lines of Tyndale's in my quotations in that chapter.

But now bycause I wold be lothe to be iudged by the onely bretherne and sisters of the false fraternite / and to the entente they shall all well se that I fere not the iudgement of indyfferent folke, I shall put abrode that all folke may se those wordes of *that* solempne sermon, by whyche they boste that myne answer vnto that chapyter of Tyndales chapter is so goodly confuted.

I shall now reproduce for the reader (from a copy in my possession) as much of the sermon as concerns the question at issue.

The very formall wordes lo good reders of that sermon, for as farre as pertayne to this mater, after the copy that was delyuered me (whyche copy I reserue and kepe for my declaracyon) therin be these wordes that here after folow.

'Now yt foloweth in the epystle, *Voluntarie enim genuit nos verbo veritatis*. This text may be expowned after thys maner, He made vs by the trouth of hys worde / he made vs fyrste (ye knowe) of nothyng / and he made vs as the chyefe and pryncypall of all his creatures. For he gaue vnto vs wyt and reason, the whyche he gaue vnto no creature lyuyng in the erth but onely to vs. But to come more nere the mater, we may say that god wyllingly begate vs by the worde of his trouth / and hath putte vs here in to thys worlde, and here to be as the lord and ruler of al his creatures, the which he made for our comforte and socoure. But yet we may go more nere you, and say how that he hath begotten vs by the worde of hys trouthe. Marke I pray you here, howe that saint Iames sayth that god hath begotten vs

Voluntarie enim genuit nos verbo veritatis.

St James says that God has begotten us through His word of truth.

¹ 'lyuys': lynys *M*.

² 'sermon': man '57.

thorough his worde of trouthe. Here yt appereth that we be not trew of oure selfe / for we are made trew by god thorough his word. And where as of our selfe we were no nother but lyers, god of his infynite goodnes hath made vs by his worde the chyl dren of trouthe and of saluacyon, where as before we were but lyers, & such as worketh none other thyng but euen the very displeasure of god. Now god of his merciful goodnes by his holy worde of trouthe hath made vs hys chyl dren / that is to saye the chyl dren of his trouthe, euen as yt pleased hym (sayth saynte Iames) he hath begoten vs by the word of his trouthe. Marke how that he sayth euen as it pleased him he begate vs. If we were begoten and made as yt pleased hym / then was yt not done as yt pleased vs. And agayne and yf we were begoten by hym / then could not we gyue hym none occasyon to loue vs. For why we cam of hym & not we of vs. Here may you perceyue also, that this texte maketh agaynst theym that wyll saye, the chyrche was before the gospell.

By His holy word of truth He has made us His children.

This text makes against those who maintain that the Church was before the gospel.

For it is plain that if we were begotten by the Word, the Word existed before we were begotten.

‘It is playne ynough that the chyrche was not before the worde / for saynt Iames sayth that god begate vs thorough the word of his trouthe. If we were begoten by the worde, then nedes must the worde be before we were gotten / or elles howe shulde we be begoten by the word / and by the worde he sayth we were begoten. If god begate vs thorow the word / we must nedes graunte that he that begate vs was before that we were begoten / and he that begate vs, begate vs by the worde / then nedes muste the worde be before that we were begoten. Nowe then yf this worde were before we were begoten / howe can we say that the chyrche was before thys worde.

‘If we meane by the chyrch, the chyrch of lyme & stone, then yt is playne ynough that the word was before any such chyrch was made. For we fynde that yt was many a daye after man was made, or euer there were any suche chyrches made. If ye meane by the chyrche, the vnyuersall chyrche of god, the whych is the congregacyon of all chrysten peple. If you mean this chyrche,

If we mean by the church the congregation of all Christian people,

and saye howe this chyrche was before the worde: then saint Iames maketh you an answer to that, sayenge how that by the worde this chyrche was begoten. Then nedes muste we graunte that the worde of god was before any chyrche was.

then we must grant that the word of God was before any church.

'ye but some wyll not be content wyth this answer, but they wyll saye that the chyrche was before that this worde was wryten of any man, and yt was admytted and alowed by the chyrch, and so was the chyrche before his worden.¹ ye but yet I wyll say to you agayne, how that this word was wryten before the chyrch was / ye and yt was not wryten by men, but yt was wryten by god our sauour afore the begynnyng of the worlde / as wytnesse saynt Poule, where he sayth to the Hebrewes, *Dabo leges meas* &c. I wyl geue my laws sayth god into theyr hertes, & in theyr myndes shall I wryte yt. Beholde how god gaue yt them at the begynnyng in theyr hertes, and wryt yt in theyr myndes, and they exercyses his lawe wryten in theyr hertes in dede and in effecte. Thus may ye se that at the begynnyng god wrote his lawes in theyr hertes, and therfore muste we nedes graunte that the worde of god was taught to them longe or euer the congregacyon taught yt. For you se that by the word we were begoten / therfore the worde must nedes be before we were begoten / or elles how coulede the worde begete vs.

If any one objects that the church existed before the word was written by man,

I answer that it was written by God before the beginning of the world.

And since St. Paul tells us that God promised to write His laws in the minds of men,

we must grant that the word of God was taught before the Church taught it.

'Some peradventure wyll say, that the chyrche was before this worde was wryten in bokes of paper and parchement and suche other thynges, and that the chyrch dyd admit them to be rede of them, which they thought necessary to loke on theym. They wyll saye that the chyrche was before this was done. ye but what thyng is this to the purpose, or what shall we nede to stand arguynge of this mater. It is playne ynough to all men that hath eyes to se & eares to heare, how the word of god was before any chyrch was, & how the word of god was wryten afore yt was wryten in any bokes or tabuls / and therfore what shall we nede to dyspute thys

Some may say that the Church existed before this word was written in books, and that the Church exercised authority with regard to the books, but how is that to the purpose?

¹ 'worden': worde *M*.

[See More's interpretation in the first two paragraphs of chap. vii.]

mater. But good lorde, yf yt had not ben wryten by the euangelystes in those days, how shold we do in these dayes, the whiche brynge forth the scripture for theym in dede / and yet they wyll bere theym in hand that yt is no scripture, and yf yt had not ben wryten in bokes then. Not wythstandyng yemay perceyue how the word was or euer the chyrche was, & the worde begate vs and not we the worde / and also yt was wryten or euer the chyrche alowed yt to be wryten.'

The reason why the brethren glory in this sermon is that Luther and Tyndale assert as the basis of all their heresies that the scripture contains all things necessary for Christians to believe.

But the King in his *Assertio* replied that the word of God has been in part preserved in the Church by tradition from the time of the apostles.

The Church was gathered together, and the faith believed, before any part of the New Testament was written.

Now good readers, to the entent ye maye the better perceyue for what purpose the bretherhed bosteth these wordes, ye shall vnderstande that where as Luther fyrste and Tyndale after hym, tell vs for a fundacyon of all theyre abomynable heresyas, that there is nothyng that ought to be taken for a sure and vndowted trouthe of the chrysten bylyefe, but yf it maye be proued by playne and euydent scripture: the kynges hyghnes in his most famous boke of assercyon of the sacramentes, layed agaynste Luther / & I out of the same boke of my sayd souerayne lord toke and layed agaynste Tyndale and all such, that the word of god is parte wryten in the scripture, and part vnwryten that appereth not proued therein / as for ensample the perpetuall virgynyte of our lady & other dyuerse poyntes whych were onely taught by Cryste to his apostles, and by them forth to the chyrche / and so by tradycyon of the chyrche bysyde the scripture and wythout wrytyng, taught and delyuered vnto chrysten peple from age to age / and so the faythe and bylyefe of those thynges kept and contynued fro thapostles dayes vnto our owntyme. And that yf the chyrche were nothyng bounden to byleue, but onely the thynges playnly wryten in scripture / than had all folke before Moyses dayes bene lefte at lybertye to leue all goddes wordes vnbyleued. And than had Crystes chyrch in the begynnyng ben at liberte to leue a great parte of Crystes own wordes vnbyleued. For the chyrche was gathered and the faythe byleued, before any parte of the newe testament was put in wrytyng. And whyche wrytyng was

or is the trew scrypture, neyther Luther nor Tindale knoweth but by the credence that they gyue to the chyrche.

And therefore syth the word of god is as stronge vn-
wryten as wryten, and whyche is hys worde wryten
Tyndale can not tell but by the chyrch, whyche hath by
the assystence of the spyryte of god therin *the* gyfte of
dyscrecyon to knowe it / and syth that that gyfte is
gyuen (as saynt Austayn sayth and Luther hym selfe
confesseth) to thys comon knowen catholyke chyrch: why
shold not Luther and Tyndale as well byleue the chyrch,
in that it telleth theym, thys thyng dyd Cryste and hys
apostles saye, as they muste byleue the chyrche (or ellys
byleue nothyng) in that it telleth them thys thyng dyd
Crystes euangelystes and apostles wryte.

Since the word of God is as strong unwritten as written, and since Tyndale must depend upon the inspired discretion of the Church for his knowledge of the written word, why should he not accept the unwritten word upon the authority of the Church?

Now good readers, Tyndale seyng how sore thys
reason of the kynges hyghnes doth towch and turne vp
the very fundacyon & great parte of hys heresy: he
doth in his boke agaynste me, of whyche booke he
maketh the tittle, 'whych is the chyrch and whether it
may erre or not', putte thys chapyter, 'Whether the
chyrch were before the gospell, or the gospell before the
chyrche.' whyche chapyter to thende ye [may]¹ the more
clerely perceyue the mater, I shall reherse you hole / &
after that some parte of myne answer therto. And than
yf ye rede agayn the wordes of thys sermon *that* I haue
here inserted byfore / euery chylde almoste shall be well
able to iudge, whyther thys preacher haue in hys sermon
auoyded well myne answer or no. These are Tyndals
wordes.

Tyndale, seeing that the King's argument threatened the foundation of his heresies, devoted to the question an entire chapter of his *Answer*.

which I shall now quote.

'A nother doute there is, whether the chyrch or con-
gregacyon be before the gospell or the gospell before
the chyrche. Whyche questyon is as harde to solue, as
whether the father be elder then the sonne, or the sonne
elder then his father. For the hole scrypture and all be-
leuyng hertes testyfy, that we are begoten thorowe the
worde. wherfore yf the worde begette the congregacyon,

The question whether the Church was before the gospel, is as difficult as the question whether the son is elder than the father; for the scripture testifies that we are begotten through the Word.

¹ 'may' c.

& he *that* begetteth is before hym that is begoten / then is the gospell before the chyrche. Paule also *Romano*.ix. sayth, Howe shall they call on whom they byleue not? And how shall they byleue wythout a preacher? That is, Chryste must fyrst be preached ere men can byleue in hym. And then yt foloweth, that the worde of the preacher must be before the fayth of the byleuer. And therfore in as myche as the worde is before the fayth, and fayth maketh the congregacyon / therfore is the worde or gospell before the congregacyon.

The word of the preacher must be before the faith of the believer; and therefore the gospel must be before the congregation.

‘And agayne, as the ayre is darke of yt selfe, & receyueth all her lyght of the son: euen so are all mens hertes of them self darke wyth lyes and receyue all theyr treuth of goddes word, in that they consent therto.

The truth of God's word may be likened to the sun, and the lying heart of man to the dark air.

‘And moreouer as the darke ayre gyueth the sonne no lyght / but contrarye wyse the lyght of the sonne in respecte of the ayre is of it self, and lyghteneth the ayre, and purgeth yt from darkenesse: euen so the lyeng herte of man can geue the word of god no treuth / but contrary wise *the* treuth of goddes word is of her selfe and lyghteneth the hertes of the byleuers, and maketh them trew / and clenseth them from lyes / as thou redest Iohan .xv. ye be clene by reason of the worde. Whyche is to be vnderstande, in that the worde hadde purged theyr hertes from lyes, from false opinyons and from thynkyng euyll good, and therfore from consentynge to synne. And Iohan .xvij. Sanctify them o father thorow thy treuthe. And thy worde ys treuth. And thus thou seest that goddes trouth dependeth not of man. It is not trew because man so sayth or admytteth yt for trew. But man is trew bycause he beleueth yt, testyfyeth, & geueth wytnesse in his herte that yt is trew. And Chryste also sayth hym selfe Iohan .v. I receyue no wytnesse of man. For yf the multytude of mannys wytnesse myght make ought trew, then were the doctryne of Mahomete trewer then Chrystes.’

God's word is not true because man admits it to be true, but man is true because he believes it.

If a multitude of human witnesses could make anything true, Mahomet's doctrine would be truer than Christ's.

To this chapter of Tyndale's

Lo good reders, here haue ye herde Tyndals chapyter / the mater wherof *the* bretherne boste that the wordes

wyons and from thynkyng eynff goode
 and therfore from consentynge to synne.
 And Gost. xvij. Sanctify them o father
 thow thyn treuthe. And thy worde þe
 treuth. And thus thou seest that goddes
 trouthe dependeth not of man. It is not
 trewe because man so sayth oʒ admyttech
 yt for trewe. But man is trewe because he
 beleueth yt, testifyeth, & graueth wytnesse
 in his herte that yt is trewe. And wherfor
 also sayth hym selfe Gost. v. I receyue
 no wytnesse of man. For yf the multitude
 of manys wytnesse myght make ouȝt
 trewe, then were the doctrine of Bap-
 tisme trewer then wherfor.

A lo good reders, here haue
 ye herde Tyndals chappter/
 the mater wherof y bryetherne
 bothe that the wordes of that
 sermon do so well and substā-
 cyally mayntayne, agaynste
 mine answer made vnto this
 chappter.

But nowe to thentent ye
 may your self iudge, whyther
 y sermon may bere out they?
 bothe

30
 bothe oʒ not? I shall reherse
 you some parte of myne an-
 swere. Lo thus begynneth
 myne answer vnto Tyndals
 chappter.

A lo he that redeth this and
 getteth not than(were/ except
 hym selfe be welc typed in the
 mater/ may wene that Tynd-
 dale in these wordes had quē-
 hym selfe lyke a man/ & borne
 me ouer quyte/ he solueth the
 obieccion so playnely/ & play-
 eth ther wyth so pleasantly.
 But now when ye shal vnder-
 stand that neuer man was
 so madde to make this obie-
 ccion to Tyndale but hym
 selfe / then shal ye laughe to
 se that he dweseleth all alone
 H ii. and

Two consecutive pages from *The apology*, showing the type used for (A) quotations from More's opponents, (B) the main body of *The Apology*, (C) quotations from More's previous works.

of that sermon do so well and substancyally mayntayne, I made answer in my *Confutation* in part as follows:

But nowe to thentent ye may your self iudge, whyther *that* sermon may bere out theyr boste or not/I shall reherse you some parte of myne answer. Lo thus begynneth myne answer vnto Tindals chapyter.

'Lo he that redeth thys and hereth not thanswere / The reader might easily suppose that Tyndale had quite overcome me, so plainly does he solve this objection.

except hym self be well ryped in the mater / may wene that Tyndale in these wordes had quit hym selfe lyke a man / & borne me ouer quyte / he solueth the obieccyon so playnely / & playeth therwyth so pleasauntly. But now when ye shall vnderstand that neuer man was so madde to make thys obieccyon to Tyndale but hym selfe / then shall ye laughe to se that he wrestleth all alone and gyueth hym selfe a fall / and in his mery solucyon mocketh also no man but hym self.

'I sayed in my dyaloge that the chyrch was before the gospell was writen / and that the fayth was taughte, and men were baptyssed, & masses sayd & the other sacramentes mynystred amonge cristen people before any parte of the newe testament was putte in wrytyng / and that thys was done by the worde of god vnwryten. And I sayd also there / & yet saye here agayne / that the ryghte fayth whyche Adam had and suche as in the same fayth succeded hym long ere wrytyng began, was taught by the word of god vnwryten / and so went from man to man fro the father to the sonne by mouth. And I sayd that thys word of god vnwryten / is of as greate authoritye as is the worde of god wryten.

'I shewed also that the chyrch of Cryste hath ben / is / & euer shall be / taughte & instructed by god and hys holy spyryte with his holy word of eyther kynde / that is to wytte bothe wyth hys worde wryten and hys worde vnwryten / & that they whyche wyll not byleue goddes worde but yf he putte it in wrytynge / be as playne infydeles as they that wyll not byleue it wryten / syth goddes worde taketh hys authoritye of god that speketh it / & not of man that wryteth it. And there is lyke

But he is wrestling only with himself.

I said in my *Dialogue* that the faith was taught, and men were baptized, and the sacraments were ministered by the unwritten word of God, before any part of the New Testament was written;

and that the unwritten word of God is of as great authority as the written.

I showed also that the Church is instructed by God in both the written and the unwritten word, and has as certain knowledge of the one as of the other.

suerty and lyke certayne knowledge of the worde of god vnwryten as there is of the word of god wryten / syth ye know neyther the tone nor the tother to be the worde of god, but by the tradycyon of the chyrche. whyche chyrche as all crysten men byleue / & the scripture sheweth / and saynt Austayne declareth / and Luther hym selfe confesseth / & the deuyll hym selfe sayth not naye / the blessed spyryte of god hath inwardly taught / teacheth / and euer shall teache / to knowe / iudge and dyscerne the worde of god from the word of man and shall kepe the chyrch from errour / ledynge it into euery trouth / as Cryste sayth hym selfe in the .xvi. chapyter of saynt Iohans gossell. which he dyd not yf he suffered the chyrche to be dampnably deceyued in takynge the worde of man for the worde of god / wherby it sholde in stede of seruyce to be done to god / fall in vn faythfulnesse / and wyth idolatry do seruyce to the deuyll.

Luther himself confesses that the Church is taught by the Holy Spirit to know the word of God from the word of man.

Christ's promise would be unfulfilled if God suffered the Church to take the word of man as divinely inspired.

These truths are so firmly established that they can never be shaken.

'And therfore I shewed in my sayed dyaloge / and yet the kynges hyghnes myche more playnely shewed in hys most erudyte famouse booke agaynst Luther out of whych I toke it: that the worde of god vnwryten is of as greate authoryte / as certayn / and as sure / as ys hys worde wryten in the scripture. which poynt is so faste and sure pytched vpon the rocke / our sauour Cryst hym self / that neyther Luther, Tindale, nor Huskyn, nor all the hell houndes that the deuyll hath in his kenell / neuer hytherto could nor whyle god lyueth in heuen & the deuyll lyeth in hell neuer hereafter shall (barke they / bawle they neuer so fast) be able to wreste it out.

'At this point, upon which their heresies depend, all the heretics are weak, as you may see from Tyndale's reply.

'And that they be all as I tell you so feble in this poynt wherupon the effect of all theyr hole heresy es hangeth (for but yf they veynquyshe this one poynt / all theyr heresy es fully be burned vp and fall as flatte to asshen as it were allmoysse all obstynate heretykes dyd) ye maye se a clere proue by these wordes of Tyndale / whych he hath set so gloriously forth in the fore fronte of hys batayle / as thoughe they were able to wyne the hole

felde. For where as I sayd that the gospell and the worde of god vnwrytten was before the chyrch / & by it was the chyrche begon gathered and toughte / and that the chyrche was byfore that the gospell that now is wryten was wryten / that is to wytte byfore any parte of the gospell was wryten / for as for all the hole gospell that is to wyt all the wordes of god that he wolde haue knownen byleued and kepte / was yet neuer wryten: thys beyng the thyng that I sayd Tyndale wyth all the helpe he hath had of all the heretykes in Almayne thys two or thre yere to gyther is yet in suche dyspayre to be able to matche therewyth, that he ys wyth shame inough fayne to forgette that I sayd the chyrche was before the gospell wryten. whyche thyng hym selfe can not denye, & is fayne to frame the doute and make the obieccyon / as though I had sayd that the chyrche had ben before the gospel and the word of god vnwriten / wherof hym selfe knoweth well that I sayd clene the contrary And therefore good reders hauynge thys thyng in your remembrance: take now the payne to rede Tyndals wordes agayne and ye shall haue a pleasure to se how fondely he iugleth afore you. For now hys crafte opened and declared vnto you: ye shall perceyue that he playeth nothing clene but fareth lyke a iugler that conuayeth hys galles so craftely that al the table spyeth them.

For though I said that the unwritten word of God was before the Church, and that the Church was begun and taught by it, and that the Church was before any part of the gospel was written, and that all of God's word has never yet been written

yet Tyndale replies as if I had said that the Church was before the unwritten word of God.

This reply is like a bit of clumsy juggling.

Lo good readers, here haue I nowe rehersed you but a pyece of myne answere vnto that chapyter of Tyndale / & yet by this one pyece alone may ye clerely perceyue, that all those wordes of that sermon go so farre wyde fro the poynt, that they not onely do nothyng helpe Tyndale (for all the labour that they take aboute yt) but also the preacher of them taketh a fowler faller¹ then Tyndale / in that the preacher stumbleth at the same stocke, and falleth into the same puddell that Tyndale dyd, and that after that he was warned by myne answere made to Tyndale afore.

From this portion of my *Confutation* you may also perceive that that boasted sermon is far from the point.

¹ 'faller': fall *M*.

The preacher,
after expound-
ing the words of
St. James in
various ways,

For this here ye¹ se, that this preacher in the fyrst part of his wordes, toucheth not the mater / but lytle and lytle he descendeth therto by the expownynge of these wordes of saynt Iames, *voluntarie enim genuit nos verbo veritatis* / that ys in englyshe, He hath wyllngly begoten vs by the worde of trewth.

finally asserts
that the text
makes against
those who say
that the Church
was before the
gospel.

How be yt the peacher englysheth it thus, 'He made vs or begote vs by the trouthe of hys worde.' whyche wordes after that he hath expowned after dyuerse maners, he cometh at laste to that exposycyon, by whych he expowneth those wordes in this wyse, that 'god hath wyllngly by his worde made vs the chyldren of trewth and of saluacyon.' And after a thyng or two noted & marked therin, whyche I shall happely make you to marke well & se somewhat more therin hereafter, then the preacher sheweth you there / he cometh to *the* poynt wyth whych we be now in hand and therin thus he begynneth. 'Here may you perceyue also, that this texte maketh agaynst theym that wyll saye, the chyrche was before the gospell.'

His oppon-
ents plainly
write not that
the Church ex-
isted before the
gospel was in
God's mind or
before it was
preached, but
that the Church
existed before
the gospel was
written; and
they insist upon
that point be-
cause the here-
tics would have
it that God's
word is of no
authority unless
it is written in
books.

But now do you good readers clerely perceyue and se, that this precher sayth wrong. For while they against whom he preacheth, that is to wytte, they that say the chyrche was before *the* gospel wryten, do both meane and playnely,² wryte that the chyrche was not byfore that the gospell was in goddes mynde, nor byfore yt was preached and taught by mouth / but onely byfore yt was wryten in bokes / & that *the* cause why they so say & wryte and put men in mynde of that poynte, is bycause that the heretyques wolde make men wene, that goddes word were of none autorite nor worthy to be byleued, but yf yt were wryten in the bokes: nowe I saye that syth ye knowe good readers, that they agaynste whom this preacher thus precheth, do meane, and say, and wryte, as ye nowe se they do / ye can not but clerely perceyue and se, that this precher doth in this poynte

¹'ye': you '57.

²'playnely, wryte': playnely wryte, *M.*

but laboure to blynde his audience, & meteth nothyng
wyth the mater. For now this thyng hadde in mynde and
consydered / all his reason after, whych he taketh oute
of Tyndales chapyter, waxeth euyn dede for colde. For
what hete or what one sparke of life after this thyng con-
sydered, haue all his wordes *that* folow, wherein he sayth.

How far the
sermon is from
touching that
point you may
see if you will
read his words
again.

'It is playne ynough that the chyrche was not before
the worde / for saynt Iames sayth that god begate vs
thorough the word of his trouth. If we were begoten by
the worde, then nedes must the worde be before we were
goten / or elles howe shulde we be begoten by the word /
and by the worde he sayth we were begoten. If god
begate vs thorow the word / we must nedes graunte that
he that begate vs was before that we were begoten / and
he that begate vs, begate vs by the worde / then nedes
muste the worde be before that we were begoten. Nowe
then yf this worde were before we were begoten / howe
can we say that the chyrche was before thys worde.

'If we meane by the chyrch, the chyrch of lyme &
stone, then yt is playne ynough that the word was before
any such chyrch was made. For we fynde that yt was
many a daye after man was made, or euer there were any
suche chyrches made. If ye meane by the chyrche, the
vnyuersall chyrche of god, the whych is the congre-
gacyon of all chrysten peple. If you mean this chyrche,
and saye howe this chyrche was before the worde: then
saint Iames maketh you an answer to that, sayenge how
that by the worde this chyrche was begoten. Then
nedes muste we graunte that the worde of god was
before any chyrche was.'

Al this chyldeish reason ye wote well, whyche Tyndale
hath begoten hym, and whyche he bryngeth out of
Tyndales chapyter, and fathereth yt vppon saynt Iames,
be yt neuer so quicke in another mater, is yet in this as
touchyng them agaynst whome he preacheth yt, clene
quayled in the trauayle, and vtterly borne dede / whyle
they agaynste whome he preacheth, saye not precysely
that the chyrch was before the gospel, nor byfore goddes

How far from
the purpose all
this is,

worde, but onely saye that the chyrche was byfore the gospell and goddes word was put in wrytynge.

the preacher
himself per-
ceives, as is evi-
dent from his
next words.

And that his reason is dede, as I say yt is / hym selfe that preached yt perceyueth / and therefore he goth farther and draweth nerer to the mater, and sayth.

'ye but some wyll not be content wyth this answer, but they wyll saye that the chyrche was before that this worde was wryten of any man, and yt was admytted and alowed by the chyrch, and so was the chyrche before his worde. ye but yet I wyll say to you agayne, how that this word was wryten before the chyrch was / ye and yt was not wryten by men, but yt was wryten by god our sauour afore the begynnyng of the worlde / as wytnesse saynt Poule, where he sayth to the Hebrewes, *Dabo leges meas* &c. I wyl geue my laws sayth god into theyr hertes, & in theyr myndes shall I wryte yt. Beholde how god gaue yt them at the begynnyng in theyr hertes, and wryt yt in theyr myndes, and they exercyses his lawe wryten in theyr hertes in dede and in effecte. Thus may ye se that at the begynnyng god wrote his lawes in theyr hertes, and therefore muste we nedes graunte that the worde of god was taught to them longe or euer the congregacyon taught yt. For you se that by the word we were begoten / therfore the worde must nedes be before we were begoten / or elles how coulede the worde begete vs.'

By these wordes good readers ye se, that hym selfe perceyueth that all his other wordes were not wurth a ryshe, bycause they came not nere *the* purpose, nor any thyng towcheth them agaynst whom he precheth them. And therefore seyng that Tyndale is by myne answer therin proued a fole / he goth as ye se ferther than Tyndale went. But therin the nerer he cometh to the poynte, the more he proueth hym selfe to go the ferther from reason. For what reason hath he *that* in arguynge agaynst other, sayth but the same *that* they say?

But he fares
no better here;
for he says the
same as his
opponents.

For not only
do we maintain
that God's word

Now all that euer he sayth in these wordes, saye we against whom he precheth *them*.

And we not onely saye the thynges that he sayth now, that is to wytte that goddys worde was ere euer it was wryten, and that it was wryten in hartes ere euer it was wryten in bokes / but these be also the thynges that we specially lay agaynst him, whose sayd chapyter thys preacher wolde wyth these wordes defende. For syth the gospell of Cryste and the wordes of god that are now wryten in bokes, were all wryten in hartes byfore they were wryten in bokes, and yet were at that time of the same strength and authoryte that they be now / we saye to Luther and Tyndale & all such oher¹ heretikes, that they say false in that they preche & teche, that men are bounden to byleue nothyng but if it be wryten in bokes / syth god is at his liberty to geue his word in to hys chyrch euen yet at thys daye, by hys owne mouthe, thorow thinspyracyon of hys holy spyryte sent therunto, & by hym selfe abydyng euer therin / & at the prechyng of the chyrch, wryte it in the hartes of the herers, as well & as surely as euer he gaue hys word to his chyrche by hys apostles, and wrote it in the peoples hartes at theyr prechyng, at suche tyme as it was yet vnwryten in any of thapostles bokes.

And ouer this, we tell them that the same chyrch, by onely which chyrch they now know whyche bookes be those that haue the word of god in them that the apostles and euangetystes² haue wryten / the same chyrche I say doth tell them, that the wordes of god which god wyll haue vs byleue, be not all wryten in those bokes but some parte styll remayne onely wryten in hartes, as before the bookes wryten they dyd all to gyther. And we tell them that Tyndale muste as well byleue the chyrche in tellynge hym whyche be those wordes of god that yet remayne vnwryten, as he doth & must byleue it in tellyng hym whyche be those bokes, in whyche the wordes of god are wryten.

And therefore good reders what thynges in thys worlde coulde thys precher haue deuyded worse to

¹ 'oher': other *M*.

² 'euangetystes': euangelistes '57.

was written in hearts before it was written in books, but this fact is what we specially urge against that chapter of Tyndale, which the preacher would here defend.

For since the word of God had no less authority before it was written down, we say to the heretics that their teaching against the unwritten word is false.

For God may give His word to His Church even now through the inspiration of the Holy Spirit just as surely as He gave it to the apostles.

The same Church which alone declares what books contain God's written word, declares also that not all the words that God would have us believe, are contained therein.

The authority of the Church must be accepted for the unwritten, as for the written, word.

brynge forth agaynst me for Tyndals defence, than those wyth whych as ye se Tyndale is most clerely confounded.

This preacher himself, perceiving that he has not yet touched my argument,

But nowe shall ye se, that this precher perceyueth it wel inough hym selfe. And therfore after that he hathe sette forth Tyndals reason, & dyssymuled myne answer that I haue made to it / and so before hys audyence wrestled a whyle in the darke, where for lacke of syghte of the mater they myghte se¹ how he fell: he waxed yet halfe wery therof at last, and somewhat ashamed to, leste he were peraduenture spyed / & fayne wolde he therfore haue shaken of the mater, & rydde him self out honestly / and therfore in conclusyon he cometh downe to thys.

‘Some peraduenture wyll say, that the chyrche was before this worde was wryten in bokes of paper and parchment and suche other thynges, and that the chyrch dyd admit them to be rede of them, which they thought necessary to loke on theym. They wyll saye that the chyrche was before this was done. ye but what thyng is this to the purpose, or what shall we nede to stand arguynge of this mater. It is playne ynough to all men that hath eyes to se & eares to heare, how the word of god was before any chyrch was, & how the word of god was wryten afore yt was wryten in any bokes or tabuls / and therfore what shall we nede to dyspute thys mater. But good lorde, yf yt had not ben wryten by the euangelystes in those days, how shold we do in these dayes, the whiche brynge forth the scripiture for theym in dede / and yet they wyll bere theym in hand that yt is no scripiture, and yf yt had not ben wryten in bokes then. Not wythstandyng ye may perceyue how the word was or euer the chyrche was, & the worde begate vs and not we the worde / and also yt was wryten or euer the chyrche alowed yt to be wryten.’

Here haue ye sene good readers after longe wrestelynge wyth me, what shyft this precher maketh to shake

¹ ‘myghte se’: myght not se *M*.

the mater of. For seyng that he can in no wyse defende Tyndalys reason, he wold at laste fayne shake of the questyon. And in dede the questyon as Tyndale frameth it of hys own fasshyon for hys owne aduantage, is very fryuolouse and folysshe. And therfore thys preacher goth (as I say) somewhat ferther and cometh nerer to the poynt, in whyche the mater of the questyon lyeth. But than bycause he can not defende Tyndale and auoyde myne answer, after *the* tyme dreuyn forth in for-neshynge of Tyndals reason / whan he cometh to the poynte he leueth myne answer vntouched, & wolde shake of *the* question for nought

But that thyng now good readers wyll not well be for hym. For the necessity of this questyon you se now your self. For syth Luther, and Tyndale, and other suche heretykes, do teache that no worde of god is now to be byleued, nor to be taken for goddes worde by the teachyng of the catholyke chyrche, but yf it be wryten in scripture: they droue vs of necessity to tell theym agayne, that the chyrche was before the scripture, & before that any of goddes wordes were wryten therin / and that all hys wordes that he wyll haue byleued, were neuer wryten / and that he is not so tong tayed, but that he is at lybertye to speke yet mo wordes whan he wyl, and may bynde vs as well to byleue them, as euer he bounde vs to byleue any worde that euer he spake before be it vnwryten or wryten. And that in all such thinges Luther & Tyndale both, and frere Barns to, & all the heretykes of them, muste (as I sayd) of reason byleue the chyrch as well whan it telleth theym, these thynges Cryste hath by hys owne spyryte or by the mouth of hys apostles taught vs, as whan it telleth them these thinges hath Crist by the penne of hys apostles wryten vs. Now is thys knot so sure, that it can neuer be losed, but yf these heretykes or thys precher for them, can by playne scripture proue vs *that* god hath caused al such thinges to be wryten in scripture all redy / and ouer that made a promyse, eyther that he wyl

and realizing that he cannot defend Tyndale's position, tries to evade the question.

But a question so fundamental cannot be evaded.

For since the heretics teach that no word of God is now to be believed unless it is written in scripture, they force us to repeat that the Church existed before the gospel was written; that not all of God's words were written; that He may make further revelations, which we shall also be bound to believe; and that the heretics must accept the authority of the Church for the unwritten, as well as for the written, word

If the heretics would loose this knot, they must prove two impossible things.

neuer speke any suche worde more, or that yf he do, he wyll at the leste wyse take no dyspleasure wyth vs, though we tell hym playnely that syth it is not in scripture all redy, he shall wryte it in yf he wyll, or els wyll we not byleue hym.

The .vi. chapyter.

This preacher would be glad to say, if he could prove it, that all necessary things are already written in scripture; but, knowing that I have confuted Tyndale upon that question, he is content with insinuation.

AND thys precher hym selfe so well perceyueth that thys poynt is trewe that I tell you, that he wold fayne yf he coulede proue it, say that all suche thynges are wryten all redy in scripture. And therfore though bycause he seeth that I haue in the laste chapyter of my fyrste parte of Tyndals confutacyon, ouerthrowen Tyndale therin, he forbare to afferme it forth out in playne and open wordes: yet he gyueth hys audyence a proper insinuation therof, & maketh a pretty glaunce therat, in those wordes where he sayth in the laste ende. 'But good lorde, yf yt had not ben wryten by the euangelystes in those dayes, howe sholde we do in these dayes, the whych bryng forth the scripture for theym in dede / and yet they wyll bere theym in hande that yt is no scripture, and yf yt hadde not ben wryten in bokes then. Not wythstandyng ye may perceyue how the word was or euer the chyrche was, and the worde begate vs and not we the word / and also yt was wryten or euer the chyrche allowed yt to be wryten.'

If this insinuation could be proved, it would strengthen some heresies, though not so many as the heretics pretend; for many things that they say are not in scripture are there indeed.

By these wordes wolde he lo (though he say it not playn oute) that folke sholde wene that of any thyng whych we be bounden to byleue, the euangelystes and apostles lefte in theyr dayes nought vnwryten. whyche poynt yf yt coulede be proued wolde helpe some heresy es well forth, but yet not so many as heretyques wold make men wene. For many thynges that they saye be not in scripture, are yet in scripture in dede. As is for the sacrament of confyrmacion, and anelyng, & holy orders, and matrymony, and the very blessed body and bloud of Chryste in the holy sacrament of the aulter.

And for good workes agaynste fayth alone, and for holy vowes of chastyte agaynst thabominable bychery of freres that wedde nonnes, and many suche other thynges. And in all suche maters the questyon is not of the word wryten or vnwryten, but vppon the interpretacyon and the ryght vnderstandynge of goddes worde all redywryten. And therin is in effect the questyon also no more but whether that in the construccion & exposycyon of holy scripture, we sholde of reason better byleue holy saynte Austayne / holy saynt Ambrose, holy saynt Hierom, holy sayn Cypriane, holy saynt Chrysostome, holy saynt Basyle, holy saynte Cyryll, and the thre Gregoryes of Greke¹ holy saintes all thre, and holy saynte Gregory the pope, wyth all the other olde holy doctours and fathers of the faythfull doctryne on the tone syde / or els on the tother syde lewde Luther, and Lambert, Barns, Huyskyn, and Swynglius, Swartherth, Tyndale, George Ioy, and Denkchius, Baynam, Bayfelde, Hytton, and Teuxbery, wyth brother Byrt, and yong father Fryth.

In such matters the question is one of interpretation — whether we should accept the interpretation of the holy saints, Doctors, and Fathers of the Church or that of heretics.

There wolde be nowe bytwene these two sortes no gret dout in the choyce (as me thynketh) yf he that sholde chose haue wyt.

And in suche maters thys is the great questyon in dede / whyche thyng yf any of theyr fauorers dare denye, and wyl afferme, that in the construccion of the scripture they haue the olde holy doctours on theyre syde / let all these heretyques and al that bere them fauour, fynde out amonge theym all so myche as one of all the olde holy sayntes, that so dyd construe the scripture, as nowe these newe heretyques do for weddyng of monkes, freres, and nonnes, which the whole catholyke chyrch all thys fyften hundred yere, byfore these late lewde heresyas beganne haue euer more abhorred and holden for abominable / let these new bretherne (I say) nowe fynd out among them all, any one of the olde holy sayntes, that sayde the breche of theyr vowes was no synne / &

If the heretics can cite one holy saint who interprets scripture as justifying the wedding of monks, friars, and nuns, I will not object to their claiming all the other saints as authority for the rest of their heresies.

¹ 'Greke': Grece *M.*

then am I content they say that all the remanau^{nt} be whole vpon theyr part in all the remanau^{nt} of al theyr poysoned heresies.

But they can not cite one.

On this point the faith of the Church is not in doubt; and the holy saints are opposed to these new-wedded monks and friars.

But on the tother syde, yf they can not among them all fynde out so myche as one old holy man for theyre parte in this poynte, in whych we can brynge many agaynst them: then must they nedes confesse, that in the construccion of the scrypture (for as mych at the leste wyse as apperteyneth to this poynte) sauynge for the vndouted fayth of the whole catholique chyrche full fyften hundred yere to gether agaynst these vowbrekyng brethern (which thyng alone suffyseth for theyr full condempnacyon) ellis standeth all the question but in this, whyther of the twayne shold in the xposycion of holy scrypture be by reason amonge the vnlerned people better byleued / the olde holy gracyouse doctours and sayntes, or these new wedded monkes and freres gracelesse apostatas and heretyques.

No Christian can doubt which side is the better; no good man can doubt that these new doctors are heretics in this one shameful point at least.

And then syth no good crysten man can doute whyther parte ys the better of these twayn / no good man can there dout (ye se well) but that these new doctours, Luther, Lambert, Tyndale, Huyskyn, and Swynglius, wyth all theyre adherentes, be playn abomynable heretikes in this one point at the lest. which poynt while yt is so shamefull and full of fylthy bestelynes / I dare be bold to say that neyther hath that man nor that women¹ any respect or regarde of any clenness or honeste, that can with fauoure vouchsaufe to rede theyr bokes or here them, tyll they fyrste forswere & abiure the defence and mayntenaunce of that incestuouse sacrylege and very bestely bychery.

The . vii . chapyter.

But, to return to this preacher's insinuation,

BUt nowe to retorne to the poynt whych thys precher wold couertly colour in hys sayde wordes, & wolde make it seme that thapostles and euangelystes had wryten all thynges that god byndeth vs to bylyefe,²

¹ 'women': woman '57.

² 'bylyefe': beleue '57.

where he sayth, 'But good lorde yf yt hadde not ben wryten by theuangelistes in those dayes, how sholde we do in these dayes the whyche brynge forth the scripture for theym in dede / and yet they wyll bere them in hand yt is no scripture and yf yt hadde not ben wryten in boke then.'

These wordes seme to be myswritten, eyther in the pryncypall booke or in the cople. For I thynke it wold be, yf it hadde not bene wryten by the euangelystes in those dayes, how sholde we do in these dayes, in whyche we brynge forth the scripture for vs in dede, and yet they beare vs in hande that it is no scripture. How be it how so euer hys wordes were in dede / he meneth by them (as ye se) to shew *that* there was a necessary wherefore god caused all necessary thinges to be put in wrytyng. But vnto that poynte as I haue all redy made answer vnto Tyndale in the confutacyon / all the thynges that the chyrche techeth for necessare, and saye they were goddes wordes, all those I mene whyche these heretykes saye be not specyfied in scripture, and that therfore they be not goddes wordes nor any necessary treuthes, but false inuencyons of Sathan (as Tindale sayth) & dampnable dremys of men (as Barns sayeth) this precher yet can not deny, but kepte haue such thynges ben in remembraunce and obserued this thousand yere, ye twelue or thyrtyne hundred amonge chrysten people, ye & as longe as the gospels of Cryste hath bene wryten, & happely somewhat before to, as may be gathered of olde auntyent wrytynges.

How be it though it were somewhat lesse shall lytle force for the mater. For if they may abyde by any meane in remembraunce a thousande yere / by the selfe same meanes maye they abyde in remembraunce another thousande to. Than syth these folkes saye that these thynges beyng so longe preserued and kepte in remembraunce, be out of the scripture: now wolde I wytte of this preacher, whyther they haue bene so longe kepte and preserued by god, or by man, or by the deuyll. If he

his words seem to be miswritten.

His meaning, however, is that of necessity God caused all needful things to be put in writing.

But he cannot deny that all those things which the Church teaches as God's word, but which the heretics say are not specified in scripture, have been kept in remembrance at least a thousand years.

And I would ask him whether they have been kept so long by God, or by man, or by the devil.

If he say by
God, they are
likely to be good
things.

It is clear that
God did not
need to cause
every necessary
truth to be put
in writing in
order that it
might be re-
membered.

But if he say
they are false
things, which
have been kept
so long by man
or by the devil,
it is clear that
God could have
kept true things
as long with
just as little
need of scrip-
ture.

His argument,
which Tyndale
used before him,
will not hold.

The preacher's
final words

make for my
contention that
there is as great
certainty in the
word of God
unwritten as
written.

saye by god / than be they of likelyhed good thynges, & not falsedes but treuthes. And yf he saye that they be false, and that yet god hath kepte them / than foloweth it at the leste that he could haue kept them as well all thys longe whyle though they had bene trewe, and that wythout the scripture, as he hath kepte theym hytherto. And thereof foloweth it also that he hadde no necessitye to cause euery necessary trouthe that he wolde haue kepte in remembraunce to be putte in *the* scripture, as thys precher wolde haue it seme.

But now yf thys preacher wyll saye on the tother syde, that these thynges haue not ben preserued by god among chrysten people / but be false thynges, and haue all thys longe whyle bene kept eyther by man or deuyll: yet syth god is as strong & as mighty as man and deuyll bothe, it foloweth ye se well that the thyng whych they haue done in kepyng of false thynges, god coulde as well do in the kepyng of trewe thynges, & neded to the kepyng no more scripture then they.

And thus good readers euery way ye se that this reason of thys precher whyche Tyndale layed agaynste me before hym, *that* god dyd cause all necessary thynges to be wryten in scripture, bycause that els they coulde not haue contynued in remembraunce / thys reason I saye ye se can not holde. For those thynges haue contynued as longe in remembraunce, whych thynges theym selfe saye be not in the scripture.

For where this precher protesteth the necessitye of *the* puttyng of all thyng in scripture, wyth a fygure of apostrophe and turnyng his tale to god / cryenge oute, 'O good lorde, yf yt had not ben wryten by the euangelystes in those dayes, howe sholde we do in these dayes, the whych bryng forth the scripture for *them* in dede / & yet they wil bere them in hand that yt is no scripture.'

These wordes lo proue playnely for my parte, that there is as great suerty in the worde of god vnwryten and taught vnto the chyrch by the spyryt without the scripture, as in his word wryten in the scripture. For who so

byleue the chyrch, wyll graunt both/ & who so byleue Whoso be-
lieves the
Church, will
grant both; and
whoso believes
not the Church,
will deny both.
not *the* chyrch, wyll deny both, as this preacher here sayth
hymselfe. For he knoweth not whych is the scripture but
by the chyrche And therfore where he saith *that* men
now a days yf we lay *them* forth *the* scripture in dede, they
wyll bere them in hande yt is no scripture / veryly yf yt
hap (as yt happeth often) that the preachers of these
new sectes do lay forth for them very scripture in dede,
whych scripture maketh not for theym in dede, but When heretics
misinterpret
scripture, true
Catholic preach-
ers will protest,
but will not
deny that it is
scripture.
som fals gloses that they geue the scripture in dede /
there wyll the trewe catholyque preachers say, that they
abuse the scripture in dede. But they wyl neuer say that
the scripture whych they brought forth, is no scripture
in dede. For *that* way doth none vse but these heretikes
onely / nor they can not all saye that there is any lefe or
lyne, that euer them self haue taken for scripture
hytherto, but the catholyque chyrche of whome they
lerned yt dothe afferme the same. But on the tother syde
there are some partes of scripture, whych the whole
catholyque chyrche affermeth for scripture / whych
partes yet these heretyques afferme for none. As for
ensample the selfe same pystle of saynt Iames, which this
precher made that sermon vppon / whych pystle frere
Luther and frere Barns both, lette not boldely to deny
for scripture, bycause in many places yt destroyeth
theyr heresy. And yet is there neuer an heretyque of
them for all that, but where yt may serue to seme to
proue hys purpose, there wyll he brynge yt forth for
saynt Iames owne, and fynd no faute therwyth.

And thus good crysten readers here haue I somewhat
shewed you howe lytle cause the brethern haue to bost
that pyece of that sermon, and say that it hath well
defended Tindales sayde chapter, and clerely confoded
meun¹ in that part of my confutacyon. And thys haue I
shewed you somewhat the more at length, because yt
toucheth a poynte that is eyther for *the* maynteynyng or
confoundyng of many great heresy. a very specyall kay.

¹ 'confoded meun': confounded me *M*.

Only heretics
will make such
denials (as, for
example, of the
Epistle of St.
James),

and then only
when the scrip-
ture in question
makes against
them.

I have dis-
cussed this part
of the sermon at
length because
the issue is
fundamental.

The . viii . chapyter.

The preacher's earlier words, which I have allowed to pass,

seem innocent enough at first.

They refer to Tyndale's reply to my assertion that 'man may with his free will by good endeavour of himself be a worker with God toward the attaining of faith.'

For as for the preachers other pieces in *the* begynnyng of those wordes, I haue let passe vntouched / where he sayth, 'he hath begoten vs by the word of hys trouthe, euen as yt pleased hym. Marke that saynte Iames sayth euen as yt pleased hym. If we were begoten and made euen as yt pleased hym / then was yt not done as yt pleased vs. And agayne yf we were begoten by hym / then coulede we gyue hym none occasyon to loue vs. For why we cam of hym & not we of vs.' These wordes good readers haue no great harme in them at the fyrst face. But they allude vnto certayne wordes of Tyndale, wyth whych he argueth agaynst me, bycause I saye in my dyaloge that man may with his fre wyl by good endeouure of hym selfe, be a worker wyth god toward the atteynnyng of fayth. Agaynste whych sayeng of myne, Tyndale (as I haue shewed in my seconde parte of Tyndales *confutacion*, in mockage of mannes endeouure toward the bylif, & in scornynge that man shold captiue his vnderstandyng & subdew his reason into the seruyce of fayth) answereth me wyth an hydyouse exclamacyon/ and cryenge out vpon my fleshelynes and foly, fometh out hys hygh spyrytuall sentence after this fashyon.

Tyndale replied: The will has no operation at all in the working of faith in my soul, any more than the child has in the begetting of his father.

'O how betleiblynde is fleshely reason: the wyll hath none operacyon at all in the workynge of fayth in my soule, no more then the chylde hath in the begetyng of his owne father. For sayth Poule yt is the gyfte of god and not of vs. My wytte muste shewe me a trew cause or an apparaunte cause why, ere my wyll haue any workynge at all.'

To this pyece of Tyndales tale yt semeth, that this preacher dothe allude. And he couertly layeth as ye se, the reason that Tyndale layeth for it, of the begeter & him that is begoten. But he layeth not the authoryte of saynte Poule as Tindal doth. But he layeth *the*

The preacher follows Tyndale, but cites the text from St. James.

wordes of saynt Iames, whyche he hath here in hande, 'God hath wyllingly begotten vs wyth the worde of his trewth' / and stycketh for this purpose vppon thys worde, 'wyllyngly', and argueth thus, 'god begate vs wyllingly sayth here saynte Iames, that is to wyt after hys owne wyll, and as yt pleased hym / ergo he dyd not begete vs after our owne wyll nor as yt pleased vs.'

This argument hath this preacher vnderpropped and enforced, wyth interpretynge of the worde 'wyllyngly' / for that is the word of saynte Iamys. whyche worde the preacher strengtheth here wyth 'after hys owne wyll and as yt pleased hym self'. And yet neyther that worde 'wyllyngly' of yt selfe, nor strengthened wyth all these other, can make but a bare forme of arguynge yf yt were in a nother mater. For if I desyred a man to geue me a thyng, and labored myche to hym therfore, & myche endeuered my selfe in many thynges to please hym, to thentent that he sholde geue yt me, and that he theruppon so dyd / thys were then but a pore argument to saye thus: this man wyllyngly gaue me this thyng, & after his owne wyll, and as yt pleased hym / ergo he gaue yt me not after myne owne wyll & as yt pleased me. For as ye se, yt bothe pleased hym to geue yt me, & also yt pleased me that he so sholde / or elles I wold neuer haue desyred yt, nor neuer haue labored therfore.

And thus ye se that thys authorite of saynt Iamys nothyng helpeth thys precher in hys purpose agaynst all occasyon and all endeuoure of man towarde the gettynge of fayth, by whyche we be bygoten.

But Tyndale layth that texte of saint Iamys agaynst the sacrament of baptisme, to proue that the worde of the promyse dothe all the wurke in the regendrynge of the soule by fayth / and that the water toward the infusyon of grace, or wesshyng of the soule, is none instrument of god, nor no thyng ellys but a bare graceles token / bycause saint Iamys sayth that god hath clensed vs by the worde of trouth, whych Tindale there expouneth by the word of his promyse / as though neuer a worde of

But no proper interpretation of the word 'wyllyngly' can exclude the possibility which I asserted.

The same text of St. James Tyndale cites against the sacrament of baptism to prove that the water is not an instrument of God, but a graceless token.

But as God
uses words
(which are like-
wise tokens) as

an instrument,
he may also use
the token of the
water as an in-
strument.

My complete
answer to Tyndale
the reader
may find in my
Confutation.

The text that
Tyndale quotes
from St. Paul
offers more sup-
port for their
contention
about free will
and faith, but
does not prove
it.

god were trewe, but onely hys promyse. Now of trouth the worde of god that a precher preacheth, by whych the poyntes of the faith be lerned / be sygnes & tokens that sygnyfy the thynges in the mynde, whyche are by those wordes brought vnto the herers eare, and from the eare to the hart / as the water sygnyfyeth and betokeneth the inward washyng of the soule in that sacrament. And as god vseth the tone token of the word to the wasshyng & clensyng of the soule thorow the meane of obedyence of the wyll, in captyuynge of hys reason & vnderstandynge in to the seruyse of fayth, by credence and assent geuyng vnto the word of fayth / in whyche what so euer Tyndale saye and thys prechour to, man hauynge age and vse of reason, maye be a wyllyng wurker with god / or ellys wherto sholde any man aduise and byd another come vnto the trewe fayth: so may god vse the tother token of the water as an instrument also to the same purpose, by the lyke meane of obedyence on the mannys parte, in submyttyng hym selfe to that ablucyon, for the fulfyllinge of goddes commaundement and ordynaunce.

How be it what I ferther answeere Tindal to these wordes of saynt Iamys / who so lyst to se, let hym rede in my fyrst parte of Tyndalys confutacyon in the answeere vnto Tindals preface the number .liii. and than set this to it / and he shall se that neyther Tyndale there nor thys¹ precher here, hath by theyr maner of expounynge these wordes of saynte Iamys, wonne them self mych wurshyp. How be it of trouth the thyng that goth nerer to theyr purpose agaynst all the wurke of fre wyll, and all endeouour of man towarde the attaynyng of fayth, is the authoryte of saynte Poule that Tyndale bryngeth forthe / which yet proueth it not. And the reason that he layeth by sample of the father and the sonne / whyche reason thys precher though somewhat fayntely syth he seeth it wyll not serue, yet somewhat repeteth here by these wordes, where he sayth, 'And agayne yf we were begoten by hym, then coule not we

¹ 'thys': hys '57.

geue hym none occasyon to loue vs / for why we came of hym and not we of vs': by these wordes he meaneth the thyng that Tyndale alledgeth where he sayth, 'The wyll hath none operacyon at al in the working of fayth in my soule, no more then the chylde hath in the begetyng of his father.' And of trouthe Tyndale & hys¹ precher sayde somewhat, yf in the spyritual generacyon the man that ys regendred, were euer more as farre from all wurke of wyll at suche tyme as god goth about to bygete hym by fayth, as is the chylde at such tyme as hys graundefather goeth about by nature to byget his father.

The illustration of Tyndale would have more force if it were true that a man at the time of his regeneration were as far removed from the use of his will as a child is at the time when his father was begotten.

But now on the tother syde, yf in the generacyon at the begetyng of hys father, *the* sonne be not yet so mych as a chyld, nor hath no wyl at all / and at the tyme of the spyrytuall regeneracyon of hym selfe, he that is regendred happe to be more than a chylde, and haue the fredome of his own wyll, and hath the choyce therby put in hys owne hande, whyther he wyll at goddys callyng to fayth by redyng, prechyng, miracle, and suche other occasyons, wyth good inwarde mocyons added also therto, folow the spyryte, and walke and wurke wyth god by captyuynge of hys owne vnderstandyng & subdewyng of hys owne reason, into the assent and bylyef of the thynges that he shall be moued vnto, and by callynge vppon the contynuaunce of goddes gracyouse helpe therunto, & therby come into the seruyce of fayth / or whyther he wyll ellys reiecte goddes good & gracyouse mocyon and resyst it, and so fle² from the gettingyng of the gyfte of fayth : yf the man I saye be at the tyme of hys spyrytuall bygetyng in thys case, as euery man that hath at the tyme age and vse of reason is / than is thys sample that Tyndale doth there put, & that this preacher doth here repete, of the chylde at the carnal byrth of his father, mych lesse lyke the man at the spyrytuall byrth of hym selfe, then is an apple lyke vnto an oyster.

But the conditions are so fundamentally different

that the illustration resembles the thing illustrated much less than an apple resembles an oyster.

¹ 'hys': this *M*.

² 'fle': flye '57.

Since the brethren complain of the length of my books, I will leave the matter here, referring those who may not be convinced to the more extended treatment of the question in my *Confutation*.

Howe be yt good readers, bycause the bretherne blame my bokes for the length / I wyll make no lenger argument of this mater here / for in these few wordes yt appereth metely well.

But yf any man thynke hym selfe with this not yet fully satysfied, then hath he nede for his contentacyon to se the mater handled somewhat more at length. And who so therfore lysteth so to do, let him rede in my fourth boke of Tyndales *confutation*, which is in the fyrst boke of the second part, in the chapiter of the maner and order of our eleccyon begynnynge. If¹ he lyst in the lefethat is marked wyth the number of . c . xii . and then wyll his owne reason serue hym to se how farre the mather goth: whych yf he rede out, I dare boldely promyse that he shall there fynde suche thynges, as agaynste Tyndale and thys preacher both, shall as for this poynte in all reason be sufficyent to satysfye hym.

If the preacher objects to my version of his sermon, I am ready to produce my copy and the man from whom I had it.

But now yf thys preacher wyll peraduenture saye, that of his wordes in both these maters I haue mysseherersed hym / I am redy to brynge forth my cople and the man of whome I hadde yt to. Or elles I shal make him a mych fayrer offer / bycause he maye peraduenture say that he neuer wrote that sermon hym selfe, but that some of his audyence whyche of deuocyon wrote as myche as they bare a way vpon the heryng, dyd wryte yt dimynute and mangled for lacke of good remembraunce / let hym vpon thys answeere of myne sene (yf yt happen to come into his handes) wryte his owne wordes hym selfe / not onely as well as he then sodaynly spake them, but as well also as he can with longe laysoure make them. And when he hath done in them the beste that euer he can, and take whose helpe he wyll to / if he make it so as he may therwyth auoyde and refell my confutyng of Tyndale in those two poyntes that those wordes of his sermon touche, then dare I be bounden to forswere this lande, and lyue in Antwarpe and be Tyndals man.

If the preacher, by taking as much time and help as he wishes, can vindicate Tyndale on these two points, I dare be bound to leave this land and live in Antwerp.

¹ 'eleccyon begynnynge. If': eleccion, begynnynge yf *M*.

How be it yf in the mater of mannys endeuoure toward the attaynyng of fayth, by walkyng on wyth god wyllingly after that god hath preuented hym wyth hys grace, by callyng on hym and gyuyng hym occasyon to come forward / yf any brother thinke to scape and auoyde my profe in the place afore remembred, by the dystynccyon that Tyndale hath lerned of Philyppe Swarterthe, and bryngeth forth agaynste me of hystorycall fayth and felynge fayth (whyche dystynccyon dyuerse of the bretherne and systerne haue in their mouthes now, and therwyth sodaynly caste a myste before vnlearned mennys eyen, and make them adased for *the* tyme that neuer harde of it before) he *that* wolde wynde awaye wyth thys dystynccyon, shall nothyng auoyde my confutyng of Tindale in that place. For yf hys dystynccyon be trewe / yet vppon goddes gracyouse preuencyon and fyrst callyng vpon, I saye and there proue that the wyllynge endeuoure of man in folowynge, helpeth to the attaynyng of euery maner kynde of fayth / and procureth the progresse & encrease of grace to the perfytyng of that vertue in man and wyth man, whyche god fyrst began in man by goddes owne preuencyon without man / but in them that haue age and dyscrecyon, vseth not to fynyshe and fulfill it wythout man / but whan man refuseth (except he mende and turne) els god leueth fynally hys own good bygone wurke vnfynysshed. And therefore sayth saynt Austayn to euery man that hath vse of reason: He that hath created the wythout the, doth not iustifye the wythout the.

And yet for farther conclusyon, bycause I here say that the same dystynccyon of hystorycall fayth and felyng fayth, glytereth nowe so gayly in the bretherns eyen / lette them rede my confutacyon thorow. Or bycause they call that to longe, lette them rede but the seuenth boke, whyche is entytled the defence of the secundu reason agaynst Tyndale. Or yf they thynke *that* boke alone to longe, let them leue a grete parte of the boke, and begyn in that lefe and that syde of the lefe that is marked wyth the

Melancthon's distinction between historical faith and feeling faith

will not avail the brethren.

For even if the distinction be true, I have shown that, upon God's gracious prevention, the willing endeavour of man helps toward the attaining of every kind of faith.

St. Augustine says: He that hath created thee without thee doth not justify thee without thee.

Yet since this distinction is now so popular with the brethren, let them read as much as they can endure of my *Confutation* and see how it fares there.

number of .cccxl. And then yf they can for hart burnyng abyde and endure to rede it vp to the ende / I dare be bold to warraunt, that they shall fynde the same gaye golden dystynccyon of hystorycall fayth & felynge fayth, founden fyrst by Phylyp Swarterthe (whych lyke as frere Huskyn hath named hym selfe Ecolampadius, hath made hys name now Melancthon) This dystynccyon I saye so made by Melancthon, shall they se so brought in there by Tyndale, and so set forth and furnyshed by the lernynge and labour of them bothe, that it cometh to suche passe in conclusyon, that no parte of all Tyndals tale is brought to more shamefull confusyon.

But when a good Catholic urges them to read the passage, the brethren reply that they will not waste their time upon it, Tyndale's position is so sure.

But nowe the bretherne wyll (when any good catholyque man prouoketh theym to rede the place in my boke) answer as dyuerse of theym haue done ere this, to suche good catholyque folke as prouoked them therto & offered to rede yt with them, and theruppon to trye betwene theym whyther Tyndale or I hadde better reason on oure parte : the bretherne haue vpon this offer shronken at last therfro, after great crakes made of Tyndales parte, wyth great contempte of myne answer byfore / and haue answered *that* they wyll not myssepende theyr tyme in redyng of myne answer, they se Tyndales tale so sure.

This would have been a good answer for them to make when, as Catholics, they were first urged to read heretical books.

Now of trouth this had ben a good answer and a reasonable, yf when they were fast in the trew catholyque fayth, they wolde thus haue answered any such as wold haue aduysed theym to rede in Tyndale, and serche whether the fayth of all the holy sayntes & of all the whole corps of crystendome thys .xv. hundred yere to gether, were trewe or false. For that were a thyng wherof yt were a very fransey to doute.

But now that they have fallen from the true faith into heresies, if they refuse to read what is written for the correction of their errors,

But now they that are fled from the fayth of all them, of whose fayth there was no cause to doute / and are fallen to the faith of a few faythlesse folke, false apostatatas wylde wedded monkes and freres and their fonde dyscyples: if they make theym selfe so sure of their deuylshe doctryne, that they refuse to rede the thynges

that are wryten for the confutacyon of theyr errorrs / euery good catholyke man that so seeth *them* do, may wyth good reason tell theym *that* they do not cleue to these folyshe heretykes for any thyng that they thynke them to saye trouth, but bycause they wold fayne yt were trouth whyther yt be or no / and that they shew theyr frowardnes therin very playnely, whyle theyr hertes abhorre and can not abyde to rede any boke, by which theyr own consyence geueth them *that* they shal fynd their opinions playnely proued false, & their archeheretykes playnely proued folys. For yf they hoped the contrarye, they wolde (I warraunt you) be them selfe the fyrste that wold call other therto.

they plainly show their perversity.

And thus myche for thys tyme suffyseth for this poynt.

The .ix. chaptyer.

NOW come I to theym that say I handle Tyndale and Fryth and Barons vngoodly and wyth vncomely wordes, callynge them by the name of heretykes and folys / and so vse them in wordes, as though the men had neyther wytte nor lernynge / where as it can not be denyed (they say) but *that* they be suche as euery man knoweth well haue both.

Now I come to those who complain that I call Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes heretics and fools.

As for wytte and lernyng I no where saye that any of them haue none / nor I meane no ferther but for the maters of theyr heresydes. And in the treatynge of those / they shew so lytle wyt or lernyng eyther that the more they haue, the more appereth the feblenesse of theyr parte and the falshed of theyr heresies, yf they haue any great wytte or any great lernyng in dede, and than for all that, in the defendynge of those maters with such folish handelynge so shamefully confounde them selfe.

I nowhere say anything against their wit or learning except as it is used in defence of their heresies.

How be it of very trouth, god vppon such folke as hauynge wyt and lernynge fall wylfully from fayth to false heresye, sheweth hys wrath & indygnacion with a more vengeaunce in some parte, than (as some doctours saye) he doth vppon the deuyll hym selfe.

Some doctors hold that God shows more wrath upon apostates than upon the devil himself;

and that the fiends are allowed to keep their natural gifts.

For (as dyuerse doctours holde opinyon) the fendes be fallen from grace, and therfore haue lost theyr glory / yet god hath suffered theym to kepe theyr gyftes of nature styl, as wytte, bewty, strength, agylyte, and such other lyke.

Father Alphonso's curious opinions upon fiends and fair women.

And father Alphonse the Spaynish frere told me, that the deuyls be no suche deformed euyll fauoured creatures as men imagyne theym / but they be in mynde proude, enuyouse, & cruell. And he bode me that yf I wolde se a very ryghte image of a fende / I sholde no more but eyn loke vppon a very fayre woman that hath a very shrewed fell cursed mynde. And whan I shewed hym that I neuer saw none such, nor wist not where I myghte any such fynde / he sayd he coulde fynde foure or fyue / but I canne not byleue hym. Nor veryly no more can I byleue that the fendes be lyke fayre shrewd women yf there were any such. Nor as the world is, it were not good that yonge men sholde wene so. For they beso full of corage, that were the fendes neuer so cursed, yf they thought them lyke fayre women, they wold neuer fere to aduenture vpon them onys. Nor to saye the treuth no more can I byleue neyther, that the dampned spyrytes haue all theyr naturall gyftes as whole and as perfayte as they had byfore theyr fall.

I cannot believe that the fiends retain their natural gifts unimpaired

If they do, God has shown less vengeance upon them than upon these heretics.

But surely yf they haue / than (as I sayed before) god hath on Tindale, Barns, & Fryth, & those other heretykes, more shewed hys vengeance in some parte, then he dyd vpon the deuyll. For in good fayth god hath as it semeth fro these folke taken away the beste parte of theyr wyttes.

Upon the latter, as upon the builders of the tower of Babel, God seems to have sent down a spirit of error and discord, the very opposite of the gifts that He bestowed upon the apos-

For lyke wyse as they that wolde haue byyelded vppe the toure of Babylon for them self agaynste god, hadde suche a stoppe throwen vppon them, that sodaynely none vnderstode what another sayd / surely so god vppon these heretykes of our tyme that go besyly aboute to hepe vp to the skye theyr foull fylthy dunghyll of all olde and newe false stynckynge heresies, gathered vp togyther agaynst the trew catholyke fayth of Cryst, that hym selfe

hath euer hytherto taught hys trewe catholyke chyrch: god I say, which whan the apostles wente aboute to preche the trewe fayth, sente downe hys owne holy spyryt of vnyte, concorde, and treuth vnto them, wyth the gyfte of speche and vnderstandynge, so that they vnderstode euery man & euery man vnderstode them / hath rered vp and sent amonge these heretykes the spyryte of errour and lyenge, of dyscorde and of dyuysyon, the dampned deuyll of hell, whyche so entangleth theyre tunges and so dystempereth theyr braynes, that they neyther vnderstande well one of them another, nor any of them well hym selfe.

And this that I here saye, who so lyst to rede my bokes, shall fynde yt so trewe and so playnely proued in many places, that he shall well se & say that this is the thyng whych in my wrytynge greueth this blessed bretherhed a litle more then the length.

And therefore where they fynde the faute that I handle these folke so foule / how could I other do? For whyle I declare and shewe theyre wrytyng to be suche (as I nedes muste, or leue the moste necessary poyntes of all the mater vntouched¹) yt were very hard for me to handle yt in suche wyse, as when I playnly proue them abominable heretykes and agaynst god and his sacramentes and sayntes very blasphemouse folis, they sholde wene that I speke them fayre.

But then they saye that the pacyfyer whyche wryteth of the deuysyon bytwene the spyrytualty the² temporalty, calleth no man by no suche names / but speke he neuer so euyll of any, he can yet vse his wordes in fayre maner, and speke to eche man gentlyly.

I can not say nay but *that* is very trouth. How be yt euery man hath not lyke wytte nor lyke inuencyon in wrytynge. For he fyndeth many proper wayes of vtterynge euyll mater in good wordes, whyche I neuer thought vppon, but am a simple playn body mych lyke

bles when they went about to preach the true faith.

I have exposed this spirit of error and discord so clearly in my books that the brethren are more grieved thereat than at the length.

When I proue them to be abominable heretics, how can I speak them fair?

But they cite the uniformly courteous treatment of the Pacifier's treatise.

I am as unable to put evil matter into fair words as the Macedonians of whom Plutarch tells us.

¹ 'vntouched': vntouched *M*.

² 'the temporalty': and the temporalty *M*.

the Macedonyes, for whome Plutarche wryteth *that* kynge Philyppe theyr mayster made a resonable excuse. For when they were in *the* warre some of theyr enmyes fled fro theyre owne kynge and came in to kynge Philyppes seruyce agaynste theyr owne countrey. wyth whome when the Macedonyes fell some tyme at wordes, as it often happeth among souldyours / the Macedonyes in spyght wold call them traytours. wheruppon they complained to kynge Philyppe, and made the mater sore and greuouse / that where as they had not onely left theyr owne natyue countrey, but dyd also fyghte agaynst yt and helpe to destroy yt, for the loue & seruyce that they bare towarde hym / hys owne people letted not in angre and in despyghte to call them false traytours. wheruppon kynge Phylp answered them. Good felowes I pray you be not angry wyth my peple, but haue pacyence. I am sorry that theyre maner ys no better. But I wysse ye know them well ynough / theyr nature is so playne, and theyr vtteraunce so rude, that they can not call an horse but an horse they.¹ And in good fayth, lyke those good folke am I. For though Tyndale and Fryth in theyr wrytynge, call me a poete / yt is but of theyr owne courtesye, vnderuerd on my parte. For I can neyther so myche poetry nor so myche rethoryque neyther, as to fynde good names for euyll thynges / but euyn as the Macedonyes could not call a traytour but a traytoure, so can I not cal a fole but a fole, nor an heretyque but an heretyque.

The brethren say that I should at least give Barnes his title of doctor; but that title should not hold now that he is forbidden to teach.

Some of *the* bretherne sayd, that I sholde at the lest wyse call frere Barns by the name of doctour, bycause he was authorysed and made a doctour of dyuynyte by the vnyuersyte. But one answered for me to *that*, & sayd that name was geuen, to serue for *that* tyme in which he was mete to tech / and not now when he is not mete to teache, but is by the chyrche for false teachyng forboden to teache. But then vnto that one of them answered agayne and asked, why shold I then call hym frere styll? why he is now no lenger a frere no more then a doctour.

¹ 'they' omitted '57.

But vnto this I coulede betwene theym tell some reason of dyfference. How be yt rather then to make this boke ouer longe, by holdyng a probleme vppon euery tryfle / I shalbe content like as in stede of doctour men call hym heretyke, so in stede of frere to call hym the tother name, that euery man calleth all those that be runne out of relygyon. Lo there haue I fallen on a fayre fygure vnware, that ys I trowe called periphrasys, to voyde the fowle name of apostata.

I shall be content to cease calling him friar, and to call him —apostate.

But nowe these good bretherne that fynde the faute wyth me, that I speke no fayrer vnto these holy prophetes of theyrs / be so egall and indyfferent, that in theym they fynde no faute at all for theyr abominable raylyng agaynst so many other honest honorable good and vertuose folke, nor for condempnyng for damned heretyques the whole catholyque chyrch of all crysten people except heretykes, both spyrytuall and temporall, seculare and relygyouse to.

The same brethren who complain of violent language in my books ignore it when it appears, with less justification, in the books of their own prophets.

But then *the* good brethern excuse them and say, that they wryte agaynst none but onely theym that are noughte, and write but against their vices.

But this wyl euyll defend them, when Barons wryteth against *the* whole clergy, & Tindale saith expressly *that* of them all there is neuer one good.

Barnes attacks the entire clergy, and Tyn-dale says that not one of them is good.

And also they wryte not so mych agaynst pompe & pryde and glotony, as agaynst watchyng and prayeng, fastyng and wylfull pouerty / and all these thynges in good religyouse people the heretyques abhorre, and call yt but ypcrysye.

In these attacks they lay less stress upon real faults than upon practices to which they object.

Then rayle they not so sore in wordes agaynste the laye people / but as fayre as they flater theym to make theym enmyes to the clergy, yet they damne them all to the deuyll, both them selues and theyr fathers, & theyr graundfathers, and theyr graundfathers great graundfathers to. For they say that thys .viii. hundred yere all the corps of crystendome hath ben led oute of the ryght waye fro god, and haue lyued al in idolatry, and dyed in seruyce of *the* deuyll / because they haue done

In spite of their flattery of the laity they say that for the past eight hundred years all Christendom has lived in idolatry and died in the service of the devil, by reason of Catholic dogma and practices.

honour to Cristes crosse, and prayed vnto sayntes, and reuerenced theyr relyques, and honored theyr ymages, and ben baptysed in latyne, and taken matrymony for a sacrament, and vsed confessyon, and done penauⁿce for synnys, and prayed for all crysten soules, and ben aneyled in theyr deth bedde, & haue taken theyre housell after the ryte and vsage of the chyrche, and haue set more by *the* masse then they sholde do, and byleued that it was a sacryfyce, an hoste, and an oblacyon, & that yt sholde do theym good, and haue byleued that there was neither brede nor wyne in the blessed sacrament of the aulter, but in stede of brede and wyne *the* very bodye and blood of Cryste. All these thynges say Tyndale and Barns both be very false bylyefe and gret damnable synne in *the* doying / and so dampne they to the deuyll the whole catholyque chyrche bothe temporall and spyritual & (excepte heretikes) leue not one man for goddes parte this .viii. hundred yere paste by theyr owne lymytacyon / and of trouth yf theyr fals heresy^es were trew, not in the tother .vii. hundred byfore *that* neyther.

Though they rail against the entire Catholic Church, its saints, ceremonies, and its very sacraments, a man who attacks these heretics must, forsooth, show them courtesy.

Now whan that agaynste all the whole catholyke chyrche, bothe that now is, & that euer before hath ben from the apostles dayes hytherto, both temporall and spyrytuall, ley men and relygyouse, and agaynst all that good is, sayntes, ceremonyes, seruyce of god, the very sacramentes & all, and most agaynst the best that is to wytte the precyouse body and bloud of our sauour hym selfe in the holy sacrament of the aulter, these blasphemouse heretykes in theyr vngracyouse bokes so vilanously ieste and rayle: were not a man wene you very farre ouersene and wurthy to be compted vncourtayse, that wolde in wrytynge agaynste theyr heresy^es, presume wythout great reuerence to reherse theyr wurshypfull namys.

I will not requite any personal abuse that they may heap upon me;

If any of theym vse theyr wordes at theyr pleasure, as euyl and as vyllanouse as they lyst agaynste my selfe / I am content to forbere any requytynge therof,

and geue them no wors wordes agayn then yf they speke me fayre / nor vsynge them selfe toward all other folke as they do, fairer wordes wyl I not geue theym then yf they spake¹ me fowle. For all shall be one to me, or rather the wurse the better. For the pleasaunt oyle of heretykes caste vpon myne hede, canne do my mynde no pleasure / but contrary wyse the wurse *that* suche folke wryte of me, for hatered *that* they bere to the catholyke chyrche and fayth / *the* greater pleasure (as for myne owne parte) they do me. But surely they raylyng agaynst all other, I purpose not to bere so pacyently, as to forbere to lette theym here some parte of lyke language as they speke. How be it vtterly to matche them therin, I neyther *can* though I wold, nor wyll neyther though I coulede / but am content (as I nedes muste) to geue theym therin the maystry, wherin to matche theym were more rebuke then honestye.

indeed I should prefer such abuse to praise from them.

But their sweeping denunciations I will not bear so patiently, though I neither could nor would match them in my reply.

Now yf they excuse them selfe, and say they speke euyll but of euyll thynges (for so call they good wurkes of penaunce, and so call they the ceremonies and sacramentes of Crystes chyrch) I answere them playnely that they lye / wherin euery trewe chrysten man wyll testyfy that I say treuth / for those thynges be good and holy whyche they rebuke and call nought. And I saye ferther also, that by *that*² excuse of theirs, they make myne excuse to, in the thyng wherwyth they be wurst content / that is to witte, where I sumewhat sharpely rebuke wedding of frerys & nonnys / whyche thyng is as all the worlde woteth, bestely and abomynable in dede.

If they say in excuse that they revile only evil things, I must tell them plainly that they lie.

Such an excuse, however, would suffice to justify my treatment of the wedding of friars and nuns.

And also yf they wyll excuse them selfe, and saye that as towchyng men, they rayle agaynste none but suche as be lewde and nought: to this I answere fyrste that in thys thyng they lye. For they rayle agaynste all. And some they call noughte by name, whose specyall goodnes shall haue recorde and wytnesse of all good

If they say that they rail against no good men, I must likewise give them the lie.

¹ 'spake': speake '57.

² 'that': the '57.

And here,
again, their
excuse would
serve to justify
my treatment
of heretics.

folke that know them. Secundly I say ferther that by
thys excuse of theyrs / they must nedes excuse me to,
whan I rebuke them selfe. For they be well and openly
knownen & conuycted for heretykes, whiche is ye wote
well the worst cryme that can be / & that for heretykes
of suche a maner sorte, as is the wurste kynde of that
cryme that euer came out of chrystendome.

Yet I am con-
tent to make a
reasonable com-
position with
them. I confesse
that I abhor
incontinence in
the clergy; let
them confesse
they abhor the
marriage of
monks and nuns.
Then let us re-
strict ourselves
to argument
upon the faith.

How be it I am yet content for all thys, to fall at
some reasonable composycyon with them. Let vs take
thys waye bytwene vs from hense forth yf they lyst.
Lyke as I do not allow but abhorre incontynence in
sacred professed persons *that* haue vowed chastyte / so
let them confesse that them selfe abhorre also the
bestely bycherly mariages of monkes freres and nonnes,
and of all suche as haue vnto god promysed & vowed
the contrary. And than syth all our mater is onely of
the fayth / let them forbere in stede of reasonyng to fall
to raylynge vppon other mennys lyuynge. For therby
fleynge fro the mater of fayth / they furnysshe oute theyr
processe wyth lyenge, whyle the fawtes of some, they
lewdeley laye to all.

If they will
neither reuoke
their heresies
nor cease trying
to spread them,
let them at
least write rea-
son and cease
railing, and I
will treat them
as mildly as the
matter will
allow.

If they wyll not (whyche were the beste) reuoke
theyre false heresydes / nor wyll not (whyche were the
next) be heretykes alone them selfe, and holde theyr
tunges & be styll, but wyll nedes be babelynge and
corrupte whom they can: lette them yet at the lest wyse
be reasonable heretykes and honeste, and wryte reason
& leue raylynge / and than lette the bretherne fynde
the fawte wyth me, yf I vse theym not after that in
wordes, as fayre and as mylde as the mater maye suffre
and bere.

Such terms
they will never
accept; for with-
out their railing
they would be
destitute.

But thys waye wyll they neuer take I wene. For than
they se well that theyr dyscyples wyll neuer haue half
the luste to loke vpon their bokes wherin they shold
than fynde but a poore feste and an euyll dressed dyner.
For in theyre onely raylynge standeth all theyr reuell,
wyth onely raylynge is all theyr roste mete basted, and
all ther pot seasoned, and all theyr pye mete spiced,

& all theyr maunchetes, and all theyr wafers, and all theyr yprocrace made.

The . x . chapyter.

NOw passing ouer this poynt / I come to this that these good brothern say, that they lyste not to rede my bokes / for I am suspecte in these maters, and parcyall toward the spyrytualty.

I come now to their charge that I am suspect in these matters and partial to the clergy.

As for suspecte / yf I be now suspecte the world waxeth all of a new kynde. For men were wont to call those folke suspecte, *that* were suspect of heresy. And thys is now a new kind of suspectes, if *men* be now suspected of *the* catholyke fayth. Howbeit in that suspicyon am I glad to be fallen, & purpose neuer to purge it.

Men used to apply the word "suspect" to those who were suspected of heresy. If men are now to be suspected of the Catholic faith, I am glad to be under that suspicion.

Now as towchyng parcyalyte vpon my parte toward the spyrytualtye / I meruayle wherof they gather it. My self am perde a temporall man / and by twyse weddyng am come in the case that I can neuer be preste. And for as¹ all *the* landes & fees that I haue in all England, bysyde suche landes and fees as I haue of the gyfte of the kynges most noble grace is not at this day nor shalbe whyle my mother in lawe lyueth (whose lyfe & good helth I praye god long kepe and continue) wurth yerely to my lyuyng the somme of full fyfty pounde. And therof haue I some by my wyfe, & some by my father (whose soule our lorde assoyle) and some haue I also purchaced my selfe / and some fees haue I of some temporall men. And then maye euery man well gesse, *that* I haue no very great parte of my lyuyng by the clergy, to make me very parcyall to them.

I marvel at the slur of partiality; for I am a layman and can never be a priest; and the sources of my income certainly offer no ground for suspicion.

And ouer that this shall I trewly saye, that of all the yerely lyuyng that I haue of the kynges gracyouse gyfte / I haue not one grote by the menes of any spyritual man /² but far aboue my deseruyng haue hadde yt, onely by hys owne syngulare bountye and goodnes, and specyal fauour toward me.

Of the income that I have by the King's gift not one grote came by means of any member of the clergy.

¹ 'for as': as for *M*.

² 'man /': man to my knowelge / *M*.

And no fees
have been
granted me from
any other source
since I wrote my
first book on
these matters.

And verely of any such yerely fees as I haue to my lyuing at this of¹ any other / I haue not had one grote graunted me syth I fyrst wrote, or went about to write my dialoge / and that was ye wote wel the fyrst worke that I wrote in these maters.

But the brethern repeat Tyn-dale's charge that I have received great rewards in money from the clergy.

I will not deny that rewards have been offered me; but that I never accepted one penny thereof I can call God to witnes, for whose sake I undertook the labour.

But then say the brethern as their holy father writeth, and telleth also dyuerse whom he talketh wyth, that I haue taken great rewardes in redy money of dyuers of the clergy for makynge of my bokes.

In good fayth I wyll not saye nay, but that some good and honorable men of theym, wolde in rewarde of my good wyll and my labour agaynste these heretyques, haue geuen me myche more then euer I dyd, or could deserue. But I dare take god and theym also to recorde, that all they coulede neuer fesse me wyth one peny thereof / but (as I playnly tolde them) I wolde rather haue caste theyre money into the Temys thenne take yt. For albe it they were as in dede there² were, bothe good men and honorable / yet loke I for my thanke of god that is theyr better, and for whose sake I take the labour and not for theirs.

If they remain unsatisfied, I can assure them that I am both too proud and too slothful to be hired for money to take half the labour that I have taken in this business.

And yf any of the brethern byleuyng their holy fathers, thynke as some of them saye, that I haue more auauntage of these maters then I make for / and that I sette not so lytle by money as to refuse yt when yt were offered: I wyll not myche dispute wyth them lenger vppon the mater. But let them byleue as the³ lyst / yet this wyll I be bold to say for my selfe, all though they shold call me pharysye for the boste and pelagiane for my labour to, that how bad so euer they reken me, I am not yet fully so vertulesse, but that of myne owne naturall dysposycyon wythout any specyall peculyare helpe of grace therto, I am bothe ouer prowde and ouer slouthfull also, to be hyred for money to take half the labour and besynesse in wrytynge, that I haue taken in thys gere synnys I began.

¹ 'this of': this daye of *M*: thys tyme of '57.

² 'there': they *M*. ³ 'the': they '57.

And therefore cause of parcyal fauour to the prestes persons haue I none, more then hath euery good crysten man and woman / whych is of dewty bounden to geue honour & reuerence vnto that holy sacrament of order, wyth whyche the clergie is specyally consecrate & dedycate vnto god.

I have no more cause to fauour the clergie than euery good Christian has.

But where as the brethern say that I am not indyfferent in the mater / therin do they the thyng that they seldome do, that is to wit say *the* trewth. For yf they call the mater eyther the vyce or vertue of the persones, whyche I take not for *the* mater: yet therin am I not indyfferent in dede bytwene a temporall man and a spyrytuall. For as for vyce, I hold yt myche more dampnable in a spyrytuall person then in a temporall man. And as for vertue / egall vertue I holde yt yet myche more yf yt happen in the temporall man then in the spyrytuall / bycause though the thyng be egall, they be not both egally bound therto. And therefore yf they take this for *the* mater / in this wyse I am not indyfferent.

But the brethern speak the truth for once when they say I am not indyfferent in the matter. For if they will insist upon the question of conduct, I hold vice to be the more damnable in the clergie, and virtue the more praiseworthy in the laity.

Nowe yf they take for the mater the thyng that I take for the mater, that is to wytte *the* trew fayth & false heresy / then am I mych lesse indyfferent. For god kepe me from beyng indyfferent betwene those two sortes. For euery good man is bounden betwene trewth and falshed, the catholyque chyrche and heretykes, betwene god and the deuyll, to be parcyall / and playnely to declare hym selfe to be full and whole vpon the tone syde and clere agaynste the tother.

And if they will admit the chief question to be that of faith, I am even less indyfferent.

But ellys as for any parcyal fauour that I bere to the clergie, wherby do these brethern proue yt? I neuer sayde that they were all fauteles, nor I neuer excused theyre fautes. And yf euer I dyd / let theym reherse of my wrytyng some one place at the leste, let them tell where I commende pompe & pryde, where I prayse auaryce, where lechery, or suche other thyng.

I never showed partiality to the clergie by maintaining that they were all faultless or by excusing their faults.

Those that be spyrytuall persones by professyon, and are therwyth carnall and wreched in theyr condycyon, haue neuer ben fauoured by me.

In my various offices I showed that I loved and honoured the good among the clergy, but that I would not be remiss in providing for the correction of those that were wicked.

when I was fyrste of the kynges counsayle, and after his vnder treasurer, and in *the* tyme whyle I was chaunceller of his duchye, of Lancaster, & when I was his chauncellour of this realme / yt was metely well knowen what maner of fauoure I bare towarde the clergy / and that as I loued & honored the good, so was not remysse nor slacke in prouydyng for the correccyon of those that were nought, noyouse to good peple, and slaunderouse to theyr owne order. whyche sorte of prestes and religyouse runnyng oute of relygyon and fallynge to thefte and murder, had at my hand so litle fauour, that there was no man that any medling had wyth theym, into whose handes they were more lothe to come.

And I found that their ordinaries were very grateful.

And in this poynt found I theyr ordinaryes so well mynded to theyr amendement & correccyon / *that* they gaue me gret thankes therfore.

And I founde those prestes rather content to re-mayne in the kynges prysons a moneth, then in the bishoppes a weke / sauynge for hope of delyueraunce by the comen course of theyr purgacyon.

And yet as farre as my pore wyt could geue me, sauynge that the daunger of escapes is to the ordinary so chargeable, that *the* fere therof maketh theym fayne of theyre delyueraunce / elles were they lykely to be waxen better ere they gate thense, or elles to tarye there as longe as euer they lyued.

These brethren would have me seek out and publish the faults of the clergy, though I do not adopt such a method toward the laity.

But I perceyue well that these good brethern loke that I sholder rebuke the clergy, & seke out theyr fawtes, & laye them to theyr facys, & wryte some wurke to theyr shame / or ellys they can not call me but parcyall to the prestes. How be it by this reason they maye call me parcyall to the lay men to. For I neuer vsed that waye neyther towarde the tone nor *the* tother. I fynde not yet suche plenty and store of vertue in my selfe, as to thynke it a metely parte and conuenient for me to play, to rebuke as abomynable vycyouse folke, any one honest compaigny eyther spyrytuall or temporall / &

mych lesse mete to rebuke & reproche eyther the whole spyrytualtye or *temporaltye*, bycause of suche as are very starke noughte in bothe.

I dare be bolde to say that prowde folke be nought, that couetouse folke be nought, *that* lecherouse folke be noughte / and to speke agaynste open knowen theuys, open knowen murderers, open knowen periured persons, open knowen apostatase, open knowen professed or conuoycted heretykes. But surely my guise is not to lay the fawtes of *the* noughty, to the charge of any whole company / and rayle vpon merchauntes and call them vsurers / nor to rayle vpon franciens & call them false iurours / nor to rayle vpon shyryffes & call them rauenours / nor to rayle vpon eschetours & call them extorcioners / nor vpon all officers and call them brybours / nor vpon gentylmen and call theym oppresours / nor so forth vp hygher, to call euery degre by suche odyouse names as men myghte fynde some of that sorte.

I dare be bold to condemn the evil-doers in any class, but I do not impute their vices to the whole class.

And of all degrees specyally for my part, I haue euer accompted my dewty to forbere all such maner of vnmanerly byhauour toward those two moste emynent orders, that god hath here ordayned in erth / the two great orders I mene of speciall consecrate personys, the sacred prynces and prestes. Agaynste any of whyche two reuerent orders, who so be so lewde vnreuerently to speke, & malapertly to ieste and rayle / shall playe that parte alone for me. And rather wyll I that these bretherne call me parcyall, than for suche yll fasshyon indyfferent.

And I have ever held it my duty to forbear such unmanerly behaviour toward the two great consecrated orders of princes and priests.

And ouer thys I can not se what nede there were that I shold rayle vpon the clergy, & reken vp all theyr fawtes. For that parte hath Tyndall played, and frere Barns both all redy / & lefte no thyng for me to saye therin, not though my minde were sore set theron.

Indeed I see no need of further criticism of the clergy, for Tyndale and Barnes have left untouched none of their faults,

They haue wyth treuth & lyes togyther, layed *the* lyuing of badde, to badde and good bothe, in suche a vyle vylanouse fasshyon, that it wolde make a good

but have imputed them to good and bad alike.

stomake to vomyte to here theyre rybaldouse raylynge. And yet not agaynste the sacred persons onely, but agaynst the blessed sacramentes also.

And now wolde theyr dyscyples that I shold not speke agaynste theyr execrable heresydes, and theyr dispyghtful dealyng / but yf I sholde by the waye do as they do, and helpe them forth in the same.

An illustration of the kind of treatment the brethren would approve.

And herein fare they mych lyke, as yf there were a sorte of vilayne wretched heretikes that metynge the prestes and clerkes relygyouse and other goynge wyth baners, copys, crosses, and sencers, and the sacramente borne about with them vppon a corpus chrysty daye, wold pyke quarellys to them, and fyrste call them all that coule come in theyr vyllayne mouthes, and hapely saye trewe by some / and than cache them all by the heddis, and throw them in the myre, surplyces, copys, sencers, crosses, relyques, sacrament and all. And than yf any man rebuked theyr vilanouse dealyng, and wolde steppe vnto the prestes, and pulle¹ theym vppe and helpe to wype the copys, and reuerently take vp the crosses, the relykes, and the blessed sacrament: were it not now well and wysely spoken yf one wold reprove hym that thus dyd, & saye he shold not medle hym self in the mater hote nor coulede, but yf he wold be indyfferent & do somewhat on bothe the sydes / and therefore he shold to shew hym selfe indyfferent, eyther reuyle and rebuke the prestes, or at the leste wyse some of them / & sowse theym somewhat in the myre for the pleasure of them that so serued them / or ellys go by aboute hys other busynes, and let the mater alone / and neyther take vppe good man out of the myre, nor surplyce, cope, nor sencer, nor relyke / but lette them lay the sacrament in the dyrt agayne. were not thys a goodly way? Surely for my parte I am not so ambycouse of suche folkes prayse, as to be called indyfferent, wyll in wrytyng agaynst theyr heresydes helpe them forth in theyr raylynge.

¹ 'and pulle': and woulde pull '57.

The . xi . chapyter.

BUT nowe where as the bretherne lay a blame in me, that I hadde not vsed suche a goodly mylde maner, and suche an indyfferent fasshyon, as they fynde vsed by him that made the boke of the dyuysyon betwene the spyrytualty and the temporalty: I am not greatly blame worthy therin. For his boke was put out synnes / & therfore coulede I when I wrote take none ensample therof / & euery man is not lyke inuentyue of his own wyt. For surely he hath founden some certayne proper inuented fygyures in that boke, in whych I am so farre from fyndynge the lyke of my self, that beynge as they nowe be founden to myne hande all redy, harde were it for me in the lyke mater to folow them.

I can hardly be blamed for not using the manner of the author of the book on the division between the clergy and the laity, for that book had not appeared.

And yet though my bokes be very farre vnder his / they may be for all that (ye wote well) metely good, yf hys be so farre excellent as the brethern boste yt. In which boke yet as mych as they boste yt / he declareth and expressely testyfyeth lyke a trewe crysten man, how so euer the maters go betwene the temporaltye and the spyrytualty, that yet theyr opynyons are heresy.

However much the brethren praise the book, its author expressly declares that their opinions are heresies.

But they take as it semeth all those wordes of his wel in worth, bycause they reken *them* selfe recompensed in a nother parte, in that they falsely persuade vnto them selfe, eyther that he dyssymuleth for the whyle and byleueth as they do / or elles that byleue he neuer so well him self, yet eyther of pytye or some other affeccyon, he could be content to helpe, that they sholde theym selfe with theyr euyl bylyefe be let alone and lyue in reste, and be sufferd to byleue as they lyst.

But they take his words in good part, perhaps because they persuade themselves—wrongly, I trust—that he is leniently disposed toward them.

But I trust in god that in that poynte they lene to mych to the letter of his wordes, & of theyr owne fauour to them selfe, mysse constre the good mannys mynde. For god forbede that any crysten man shold meane so.

Howe be yt as touchynge *the* mater wherwyth we be now in hande, that is to wytte the maner of mylde and

As for the question at issue, I am sure

that his book
is not more im-
partial than any
book of mine.

In my works
I have not em-
phasized the
faults either of
the clergy or of
the laity, though
I have con-
fessed that nei-
ther is faultless.

I have main-
tained that both
bodies would
bear comparison
with the corre-
sponding bodies
of any other
Christian king-
dom of like size.

If on either
side reforms
have not been
diligently pur-
sued, I have
deplored the
fact; and have
urged each man
to begin with
the reform of
himself, and all
good men of
both bodies to
unite against the
openly wicked
members of
either, to try to
cure those that
are curable, and
to cut off, for the
health of the
whole body, the
parts that are
cankered incur-
ably.

indifferēt writyng by me or by him concernynge the
spyrytualty and the temporalty / therin am I very sure
that his myld indifferēt boke of the dyuysyon, neyther
is more myld nor more indifferēt then any boke of
myne.

For fyrst as for myne own parte, loke my dyaloge,
my supplicacyon of soules, and both the partes of the
confutacyon / and ye shall clerely se *that* I neyther haue
vsed towarde the clergy nor toward the temporalty, any
warne dyspleasaunt word / but haue forborn to touch
in specyall eyther the fautes of the tone or of the tother.
But yet haue I confessed the thyng *that* trouth is / neither
part to be fautlesse. But then whyche is the thyng that
offendeth these blessed bretherne / I haue not letted
forthermore to say the thyng whyche I take also for very
trewe / that as thys realme of englande hath had hytherto
god be thanked as good and as laudable a temporalty,
number for number, as hath hadde any other crysten
region of the quantyte / so hath it had also number for
number compared wyth any realme cristened of no
gretter quantyte, as good and as commendable a clergie
/ though there haue neuer lacked in any of both the
partes, plentye of suche as haue alwaye be noughte /
whose fautes haue euer ben theyr owne, and not to be
imputed to the whole body neyther of spyrytualty nor
temporalty / sauynge that there haue ben peradventure
on eyther parte, in some suche as by theyr offices ought
to loke therto, some lacke of the labour and dyligence
that in the reformynge of yt sholde haue belonged vnto
them, whyche I declare alway that I wold wyshe
amended, & euery man spēcally labour to mende him
selfe / and rather accustome hym selfe to loke vppon
hys owne fautes then vpon other mennes / and agaynste
suche as are in eyther sorte founden open, euyll, and
nought, and noyouse vnto the comen well, as theuys,
murderers, and heretyques, & such other wrechis /
the whole corps of the spyrytualty and temporaltye
bothe, eche wyth other louyngly to accorde and agre /

and accordynge to the good auntyent lawes and commendable vsages long contynued in this noble realme, eyther parte endeuour them selfe dylygently to re- presse and kepe vnder those euyll and vngracyous folke, that lyke sores, scabbes, and cankers, trouble and vexe the body / and of all them to cure suche as may be cured, & for helth of the whole body, cutte and caste of the incurable cancred partes there fro / obserued in the doynge euermore such order and fasshyon as may stand and agre wyth reason and iustyce, the kynges lawes of the realme, the scripiture of god, and the lawes of Crystes chyrch / euer keepyng loue and concord betwene the two pryncypall partes the spyritualty and temporalty, lest the dregges of both sortes conspyryng to gether & encreasyng, may litle and litle grow to strong for both / wherto they myghte haue a fayre gappe and a brode gate to entre, yf they myghte fynde the meane by crafte to seuer and sette a sunder the temporalty against the clergy to stryue, and so let as yt were the soule and the body brable and stryue to gether / and whyle they study nothyng elles but the tone to greue the tother, the noughty then conspyre and agre to gether, and set vpon the good people of both.

Thys hath bene hytherto the whole somme of my wrytynge, wythout any dyspleasaunt worde vsed eyther towarde temporaltye or spyrytualtye. And more mylde maner then this toward al good folke, hath not thys other boke of dyuysyon, nor yet a more indyfferent as farre as I can se / but yf he be rekened more myld, bycause he setteth hys wordes mych more myld and colde when he speketh awght of heretikes, & sheweth hym selfe therin more temperate & therby more dyscrete then I / and but yf he be rekened for more indyfferent, bycause hys wordes in rehersyng the fawtes of the spyritualty, be not in the wurste thynges parcyally poynted towarde suche as be nought, but indyfferently dyrected and poynted towarde the whole body.

And I have urged that the clergy and laity work together lovingly in this endeavour lest the dregs of both bodies succeed in making a division between them.

The 'book of division' can hardly be called more mild and impartial than my work unless the mildness be found in the author's leniency toward heretics, and the impartiality in his willingness to impute the faults of the worst of the clergy to the whole body.

The . xii . chapyter.

In truth the author employs strange methods for one who would compose a dissension so sore and so wide-spread as he alleges this to be.

How be it as towching the maner of hys handelynge / to tell you the very trouth, it semeth to me somewhat straunge, for one that wolde go about the purpose that he pretendeth, that is to wytte to pacyfye and appease two partyes, beyng at so sore a dyssensyon and dyuysyon, as he sayth that *the* temporalty is in grudge agaynst the spyrytualty, not here and there but euery where noted, as he sayth in a maner vnyuersally thorow thys whole realme. How be it I trust in god very farre fro so. And yet not fully so farre, but that it maye by mysfortune for aboundaunce of synne and lake of grace, in tyme grow and come to it.

Such dissension as exists is likely to be spread throughout the realm by his pacifying devices, which, though they may not have been adopted maliciously, seem little calculated to bring about a love day.

For trouth it is that murmur & dyssensyon (god knoweth how it begonne) agaynste the clergie is a greate waye gone onward in his vnhappy iourney / and maye by suche maner and meane of pacyfyenge, within short processe be conuayed rounde aboute the realme, and leue no place in peace. Not *that* I wolde thynke the man that made that boke to be of suche malycouse mynde, as wyllingly to sowe dyssensyon / but that as me semeth he taketh at the lest wise vnware a wronge waye towarde the contrary / and that the maner of his handelynge is farre from such indyfferencye as he sholde vse, that wolde make a loue day and appease any murmur and grudge of the laye people agaynste the prestes.

For he shows that the grudge is borne by the laity, and lays the entire responsibility for it upon the clergy.

For he sheweth in the progresse of all hys processe, that the grudge is borne by the temporaltye / and the causes and occasions therof growen and gyuen in effecte all by the spyrytualtye. whyche handelyng is not as me thynketh very myche indyfferent.

A peacemaker, even if he cannot bring himself to extenuate the causes of a grudge, ought at least to abstain from exagger-

I lette passe that he which veryly wolde entende to pacyfye, swage, and appease a grudge, wolde (as myche as he conueniently myght) extenuate the causes and occasions of the grudge. But & yf he wold nedes walke playnly forthe and take no such bye wayes / he

would not yet at the leste wyse not accumulate & exaggerate the greuys, and by all the meanes he myghte, make *the* greues appere many, great, and mooste odyouse. Or fynally, yf for hatered of theyr fawtes, no fauour of theyr persons coulde cause hym to forbere that / yet wold he forbere at the leste wyse to seke vppe and reherse causes of grudge before vnknownen vnto the partye, whose dyspleasure he wolde asswage & pacyfye. But now thys appeasoure contrary wyse, not onely dothe in all these thynges the contrary / but bryngeth forthe also bysyde all thys, some suche fautes mo, as yf they were trewe were of the greatest weyghte / and telleth theym as though they were trewe, where they be very playne false in dede.

ating them, from revealing some that were unsuspected, and from inventing others that are untrue.

But now the good bretherne that boste it, laye forthe for a greate token of temperaunce and good mynde toward the spyrytualty, that he forbereth to speke any thyng of *the* great open fawtes that many prestes be openly taken in / as thefte, robbery, sacrilege, and murder / whereof in soundry shyres of the realme there are at every sessyons openly founden some.

The brethren praise his moderation in that he avoids mention of the crimes in which many priests are detected.

And yet the moste parte of such fawtes as he speketh of, he saith them not as of him self, nor affermeth theym not for trew, nor as thynges neyther spoken by the mouthes of very many / but to mytygate the mater wyth, he sayth no more but that thus by the clergye some say, and some finde this fawte wyth theym, and some fynde that / and though that many smale sommes make a great, what can he do therto? can he lette men to speke? or is he bounde to stoppe hys earys and here theym not? or maye he not tell what he heareth some other saye?

And they note that he does not vouch for the faults that he does mention, but introduces each with 'some say'.

And yet saye they farther, that he telleth indyfferently the fawtes as well of the temporalty as of the spyrytualty / and wolde there shold not be bytwene the temporaltye and the spyrytualtye, so myche as any one angry worde. And therefore they saye that it can not

And they find evidence of his sincerity in the fact that he discloses the faults of both sides.

be possyble that he wrote of any euyll entente, syth no man can vse hym self neyther more myldely nor wyth more indyfference, nor fynally with more tender cheryte.

But others see a very different motive behind his omission of such flagrant crimes as could not conceivably be imputed to the entire body of the clergy.

But now to these excuses, some other men answer agayne, that the leuyng out of felonye, sacrylege, & murder, is rather a token of wylynnes *then* any forbering or fauour. For syth he saw well *that* euery wyse man wolde answer in hym selfe, that those greate horryble open euyls of suche desperate noughty wrechcs, were not to be layed agaynst the clergy / as the lyke in temporall wrechcs are not to be layed agaynste the temporalty: he wolde therfore rather seke oute and hepe vppe a sorte of those thynges that myght by hys maner of handelynge, sowne in the readers eares to be suche as the temporaltye myghte ascrybe and impute vnto (& therfore bere a gruge vnto) the mayne multitude of the whole clergy, and extende in substauunce vnto euery part.

And these men note that under cover of his 'some say' he contrives to bring in all the slander that any man can say.

And as touchyng that he sayth not the thynges as of hym selfe, but bryngeth them in wyth a fygure of Some say: to that poynt some other say, that for that curtesy no man hath any cause to can hym any thanke. For vnder hys fayre fygure of some say / he maye ye wote well, & some saye that he so doth, deuyse to brynge in all the myschyefe that any man can saye. And yet ouer thys wythout hys masker of Some say / he saith open faced some of the wurste hym selfe, and that in some thynges *that* are as some trewe men saye not trewe.

As for his impartiality, after making out a long list of the serious faults of the clergy, he does, it is true, mention a few faults of the laity—but such as have never caused any great complaint on the part of the clergy.

Then as touchyng his indyfferency, in tellynge the fautes of *the* temporalty to / of trouth among a grete hepe of shrewd fautes rehersed agaynste the clergy, for whyche the temporalty myghte yf the thynges were all trewe, seme to haue great cause of grudge / he reherseth also some fautes of *the* temporalty to, as that they be to blame bycause they vse the prestes ouer familiarely, and geue them ouer gay gownes or lyght coloured

lyuereys, & one or two such thynges mo as though they might be mended, yet were of no such kynd as the prestes that so be delte wyth all, haue ben wonte to fynd any cause of gret gruge.

How be yt yet in one place to shewe his farther indyfferency / he layeth against them both that the prestes agaynst laye people, and laye people agaynste prestes, haue vsed to haue euyll language / and eyther agaynst other to speke vnsyttynge wordes. And theruppon she¹ sheweth his tender charyte, and sayth: 'If all these wordes were prohybyted on bothe sydes vppon great paynes, I thinke yt wolde do great good in this behalfe.'

He accuses each body of reviling the other, and urges that all such evil words be prohibited on both sides.

The . xiii . chapyter.

BUt now good readers yf that yt so were, that one founde two men standyng to gether, & wold come steppe in betwene theym, and bere them in hand they were about to fyght / and wold wyth that worde putte the tone pretely backe with his hande, and all to buffet the tother about the face / and then go forth and say that he had parted a fray, & pacyfyed the partyes: some men wolde say agayne (as I suppose) that he had as lyue hys enmy were let alone with hym, and therof abyde the aduenture, as haue such a frend steppe in betwene to parte theym.

As an illustration, suppose that as two men are standing together, a third steps between them, makes them believe they are about to fight, pushes one back, strikes the other in the face, and then says that he has parted a fray and pacified the parties.

How be it yf this pacyfyer of this dyuysyon wyl say that this is nothyng lyke the present mater, bycause he stryketh neyther parte, but onely telleth the tone *the* tothers fautes / or ellys (as he wyll saye) telleth *them* theyr fautes both: yf yt so happed good readers he found a man that were angry with his wife (and happely not all wythoute cause) yf this maker of the boke of dyuysyon wolde take vpon hym to go & reconcyle them agayn to gether / and helpe to make them at one / and therin wold vse this waye, that when he hadde theym both before hym and before all theyre neyghbours to, then sauynge for some chaung² to make yt mete for theyre

Or better, fancy this Pacifier using his methods to compose a conjugal difficulty.

Assembling the neighbours, he harangues the

¹ 'she': he *M*.

² 'chaung': chaunge '57.

man and his wife as follows: 'Who can witness your state without sorrow now that you have fallen from love unto strife? Your good neighbours are all curious as to the causes of the trouble. What causes I have heard alleged I will report in the hope that they may be removed.' And so, with the help of his some-say device, he makes a long list of the wife's faults, including some that her husband had not suspected and others that are not true.

persones, elles he wolde begynne holyly wyth *the* same wordes in effect wyth whyche he begynneth his indifferente mylde boke of dyuysion / and for an enter¹ into his mater fyrste wolde saye thus vnto them / who may remember the state that ye stande in, wythout great heuennesse and sorow of hert? For where as in tymes passed hath reygned betwene you cherite, mekenes concorde, & peace / there reygneþ now angre, and malyce, debate, dyuysyon and stryfe. whych thyng to seso mysfortune betwene any two crysten folke, is a thyngemyche to belamented / & then myche more to belamented, when yt myshappeth to fall betwene a man & his wyfe. And many good neyghbours gretly meruayle I wysse, vppon what causes this great grudge is growen. And therfore to thentent that ye may remoue *the* causes and amende these maters, & therby then by the grace of god agree / I wyll tell you what I here men saye that the causes be. And nowe after holy² prologe made / go forth and tell them that some folke say, the wyfe hath this euyl condycyon, and some other saye that she hath that euyl condycyon, and yet other some saye that she hath a nother euyl condycyon / and so wyth twenty dyuerse some sayes of other men, say there hym self by the pore woman, all the mychyefe that any man could dyuyse to say / and among those, some thynges peraduenture trewe, which yet her husbände hadde neuer herde of byfore. And some thinges false also / wherof bycause *the* pacyfyer wolde be put vnto no profe, he wold not sai them as of him self but bryng them forth vnder *the* fayre figure of some say. And when he had all sayde then yet at the laste say thus mych of hym self. As for these thynges here & there I haue herd some other saye / whether they say trewe or no the charge be theyrs for me. But yet in good fayth good syster, syth ye knowe that the dyspleasure and grudge that your husbände hath to you, is growen vppon these causes / I meruayle mych my self that you

Then, turning to the wife, he continues: 'In faith, good sister, since you know that your husband's grudge has

¹ 'enter': entre *M*.

² 'after holy': after this holy *M*.

do vse the same condycions styll. I wysse tyll you meke your self & amende them, this anger of your husbände wyll neuer be well appeased.

grown from these faults, I marvel that you still persist in them.

Lo wyth suche wordes he voydeth the colour of hys fayre fygure of Some saye, eyther by forgetfulnes, or els by the playne fygure of foly. For whan he sayth of hym self, that she kepeth those euil condycyons styll and amendeth them not / he sheweth *that* all hys Some sayes be of his owne sayenge, though he myghte happely in some of them here some other saye so to bysyde.

(In that remark, you perceive, he forgets his 'some say' for once, and so takes upon himself the responsibility for all the slander.)

But than yf amonge all these fawtes so myldely rehersed agaynst her, he wolde to shewe somewhat of hys indyfferencye, tell her husband hys pars verse to / and saye, But yet forsothe your wyfe hath not geuen you so many causes of dyspleasure for nought. For I wyll be playn wyth you and indyfferent bytwene you bothe, you haue in some thynges towarde her not delte very well nor lyke a good husbände your selfe. For thys I knowe my selfe. that ye haue vsed to make her to homely wyth you, and haue suffred her to be to mich idle, and suffred her to be to myche conuersaunt amonge her gosseppys, and you haue gyuen her ouer gaye gere and to mych money in her purse / and surely tyll you mende all this gere for your part, I can not myche meruayle though she do you dyspleasure. And sometyme euyll wordes bytwene you causeth debate on bothe sydes. For you call her (as I here saye) cursed quene & shrew / & some saye that she byhynde your backe calleth you knaue & cuckolde. And I wysse suche wordes were well done to be lefte on bothe sydes / for surely they do no good. And therefore 'yf all these wordes were prohybyted on bothe sydes vppon greate paynes, I thynke 'it wolde do great good in thys byhalfe.'

Then, to show his impartiality, he addresses the husband: 'But the blame is not wholly your wife's, for you have been at some fault. You have allowed her to be too familiar with you, and to gossip too much, and you have given her too gay clothes and too much money. And since you have each called the other names, if all these words were prohibited on both sides, I think it would do great good.'

Now gete you hense as wyfe¹ as a calfe wolde I wene the good wyfe saye to thys good goostely pacyfyer. For spake he neuer so myldely, and wolde seme neuer so indyfferent / though he loked therewyth ryght simply,

Howeuer much he might protest his charitable motives, one can fancy the wife's reply:

¹ 'wyfe': wyse c

and helde vp also bothe hys handes holyly, & wolde therwith swere to the woman full depely, *that* hys entent were good, and that he nothyng mente but to brynge her husbände & her at one / wolde she thynke you for al that byleue hym? I suppose veryly naye, nor her husbände neyther yf he were wyse, all though he saw some parte of hys tale trewe / as none is so folysse to saye all false, that wolde wynne hym credence. But byleue the husbände as he lyst / I durste be bolde to swere for the wyfe, that he shold neuer make her suche a fole, as to byleue that he ment to mende the mater, wyth rehersynge her fawtys mo then euer her husbände had herd of, and some of them false to / and than colour all hys tale wyth hys proper inuencion of Some say. But she wold for his some say shortly sai to him, I pray you good man Some saye gete you shortely hense. For my husbände and I shall agre myche the soner yf no such brother Some say come wythin our dore.

'I pray you, goodman Some say, get you hence; for my husband and I shall agree much sooner without you.'

This Pacifier makes even worse work in his 'book of division,' listing all the faults he can find or invent, even faults so rarely heard of as the ones he gleans from Gerson.

Now of very trouth thys pacifyer, as some saye, goth yet wurse to wurke in his boke of dyuisyon, then this Some say, that we put for a sample bytwene the man & hys wyfe. For he gathereth fyrst all the causes of dyspleasurys that he can fynde out or dyuyse / and dyuerse of them suche as few ley people vnlernd, ye & fewe of the lerned to, had any thyng herd of byfore, as are dyuerse of those which he gathereth out of Iohan Gerson.

If he insists that his intent, like Gerson's, was charitable, why did he not, like Gerson, speak confidentially, as it were, in Latin?

If he saye that he ment as Gerson dyd, that he maketh mencyon of them bycause he wolde haue the clergy mende them / surely who so for suche good wyll telleth a man hys fawtes, vseth to tell hit hym secretely / and so dyd Iohan Gerson hym selfe when he wrote them in latyne, & not in the vulgare tunge.

The difference is as apparent between their motives as between their methods.

But this pacifyer contrary wyse bycause he wolde haue the lay peple both men & women loke on them, doth translate them into englysh / where as Iohan Gerson wolde not that a man sholde reproche & rebuke the prelates before the people.

Also this pacyfyer aggreueth (as mych as in him lyeth) the clergye of englande, for vse of the lawes not made by them selfe, but be the comon lawys of all chrystendome.

The author also blames the clergy for use of laws that were not made by them, but are common to all Christendom.

If he wyll say that he blameth but theyr abuses therof the trouth appereth in some place otherwyse in hys boke. And yet syth he proueth that poynt but by a some saye / he myght wyth the same fygure laye lyke fawtes in the temporaltye concernyng the lawes of thys realme, and proue it in lyke wyse wyth a greate Some saye to. And therin he sheweth hym selfe not indyfferent whan he bryngeth in the tone and leueth the tother out. And on the tother syde, yf he bryng in the tother to / than shall he make two fawtes for one. For if he handle them as truely as he handeleth these / than shall he make two lyes for one.

If he says that he blames only their abuse of these laws, his book will not bear him out. Yet since he adduces but some sayes to prove the abuse, he might as well, on like evidence, blame the laity for abuse of the laws of the realm.

And yet bysyde all the fawtes that he bryngeth in vnder some saye and they say / some that him selfe sayeth without any some say, be such as some saye that he can neuer proue, and some they say be playne and open false.

Some say that some of his own statements are false.

By all whyche maner of handelynge it appereth, that yf the man meane well hym selfe (as by goddes grace he doth) than hath some other sotle shrew that is of his counsaile deceyued him, not onely in the mysse framyng of hys mater more towarde diuysyon then vnyte, but also by causynge hym to plante in here & there, some suche worde as myghte make hys beste frendes to fere, that he greatly forced not for the furtheraunce of the catholyke fayth.

If the man means well, he must have been misled by subtle counsel both in his pacific methods and in some expressions that bring his faith under suspicion.

The . xiiii . chapyter

BUT for as mych as the touchynge of *that* boke is here not my principal purpose / I wil therfore not peruse it ouer & touch euery poynt therof. whyche yf I wolde, I coule I thynke well make men se, *that* very fewe partes therof had eyther such cherite or such indifferencye

But since my principal concern is not with his book, I will not treat it in detail.

therin, as not onely the new naughty bretherhed bosteth, but some good folke also take yt at a superfycyall redyng.

And yet for several reasons, and especially because it is of the utmost importance that men be well informed on some of the questions involved, I will touch upon one or two passages.

And lest I be accused of picking out a few lines of the worst, I will take this Pacifier's first chapter whole.

Pac. — Who can witness the present state of this realm without sorrow? For concord has given way to strife — among laymen, among religious, between priests and religious, and, worst of all, among priests.

More. — Why should strife between priests and religious, or among religious, be less lamented than among priests? For many religious

And yet bycause *the* bretherns boste hath made yt an incydent vnto my mater / and that some thynges therin are suche, as yt is more then necessary that men be well aduysed of them, and well fore se what they do in them / and leste a better opypynyon of the boke then the mater may bere (yf yt be pondered ryght) may be occasyon to moue men in some great thynges to do no lytle wronge / & to thentent also that ye may se *that* in all that I haue sayde, I bylye hym not: I shall for a sample of handlynge, touch by the waye one or two places of hys.

And leste folke shold thynke that I pyke oute here & there two or thre lynes of *the* wurst: I wyll take his fyrst chapiter whole. In whyche though all be not noughte, nor all false (For a very fole were he that wold put forth a boke & make all nought and all false, euyn in *the* very fore fronte that shall come fyrste to hande) yet yf yt be consydered & aduysed wel / there will I wene euyn in the very fyrste chapyter appere, lesse good and lesse treuth to, then men at a sodayne shyft in the fyrst redyng ouer, do thorowly perceyue. Lo thus yt begynneth.

'Who maye remember the state of thys realme now in these dayes, wythout gret heuynes and sorow of herte? For there as in tymes paste hath reygned charyte, mekenes, concord, and peace, reygne[n]th now enuye, pryde, dyuysyon, and stryfe: and that not onely betwene lay men and laye men, but also betwene relygyous and relygyous, and also betwene prestes and religious, & that is yet more to be lamented, also betwene prestes and prestes.'

Some say *that* a man myght here a lytle lament this mannys wyt, that weneth yt lesse to be lamented, that debate & strife shold be bytwene prestes and religyouse persons, or bytwene those that are both the partyes relygyouse folke, then bytwene those *that* are both the partyes

prestes. For some say that many relygyouse folke be prestes. And they *that* so say / do say also that as many prestes be relygyouse folke. And some say therfore, that except this man meane here by relygyouse folke eyther *women* or chyl dren, wyth whose varyaunce the temporalty is not very greatly cumbred / or ellys the laye bretherne that are in some places of religyon, which are neyther so many nor so myche esteemed, that euer the temporalty was myche troubled wyth theyre stryfe: ellys bysyde these there falleth no variaunce lyghtly betwene relygyouse & relygyouse, wherwith the temporalty haue ben offended / but yt falleth of necessity betwene prestes and prestes / and then the varyaunce, namely suche a varyaunce as thys boke speketh of, that is so notable that the temporalty so mych marketh it, and hath so great cause to lament yt, when yt falleth betwene relygyouse and relygyouse, ys a thyng no lesse lamentable then yf yt fell betwene as many prestes when them selfe be both prestes.

are priests, and many priests are religious.

So it follows that strife among religious is strife among priests, and not less lamentable than strife among priests.

And then yf he meane here by prestes, those that are seculare prestes, as by his other wordes he semeth to do / and so taketh yt for a thyng more to be lamented, yf varyaunce fall betwene seculare prestes then betwene those prestes *that* are in religyon: then say some men that he sayth somewhat worse. And then they *that* so say, seme to me to say trew. For al be it gret pitye yt is to se stryfe and variaunce fal betwene any seculare prestes: yet is it more pitye to se it fal betwene those prestes that haue also vowed and professed farther, somewhat a more strayght renounchyng of all such maner thyng, as mater of debate and stryfe do comenly sprynge vpon. And therfore this maner of encrease and growing of this mannys oracyon, is but a counterfeted fygure of rethoryque as some men say.

If he means secular priests, as seems likely, and that the strife among them is more lamentable, I cannot agree.

For it is rather the greater pity to see strife among religious, since they have vowed renunciation of such things as ordinarily provoke strife.

And in good fayth as for my selfe I se not the reason that moued hym. For it were a very colde skuse to a man lerned that wyll way the hole periodus togyther, if he wold hereafter say that he ment by these wordes

I do not perceive his motive,

bytwene prestes and prestes, the prestes that are in relygyon. For bysyde that a man maye by dyuerse thynges well perceyue the contrary / he had yf he so hadde mente, lefte than no lamentacyon for any stryfe that happeth bytwene seculare prestes amonge them selfe. I can not therfore in good fayth diuine, what he sholde mene by that increase endynge in prestes after all the relygyouse, but yf he mente to sygnifye that the state of prestes professyng relygyon, were a state of lesse perfeccyon by reason of the professyon, then is the state of those seculare prestes *that* haue temporall landes of theyr own purchace or enheritaunce, or that ellys serue some chauntery or lyue vppon trentallys abrode.

unless he meant to imply that the state of priests professing religion is, by reason of their profession, less perfect than the state of secular priests, who hold temporal lands, or serve some chantry, or live upon trentals.

If that was his meaning, he might well have said it plainly; but he might better have left it unsaid.

And surely yf the man thus ment in dede / bysydes that he sholde haue sette out hys sentence more playnely: his menyng wyll but yf he declare it the better, mysse-lyke better men and better lerned to, than I & he be bothe. And sauynge for that poynte whyche is no small mater / ellys as for his rules of rethoryke or grammaty-call congruyte eyther, or ouersight in reasonyng, as thynges of no gret weyght I wolde not myche vouchsaue to towche. For they be suche offences as a man maye fall in, and yet be a saued soule, as well as though he neuer wrote any wurke at all.

The . xv . chapyter.

Pac.—This division, which has been so universal as to disturb the whole realm, arose in part from the pride of both religious and priests in their state of living. Disdain and abuse followed.

‘WHyche dyuysyon hath ben so vnyuersall, that it hath ben a great vnquyetnes and a great breche of charyte through all the realme: and parte of yt hath rysen by reason of a great syngularyte, that relygyous persons and prestes haue had to theyr state of lyuyng, wherby many of *them* haue thought theyr state moste perfyte before all other. And some of them haue therby exalted theym selfe in theyre owne syghte so hyghe, that they haue rysen into suche a gostely pryde, that they haue in maner dysdayned and despysed other, that haue not lyued in suche perfeccyon, as they thynke they

do. And of thys hath folowed, that some of theym haue hadde vnsyttynge wordes of the other, callynge them flatterers, dyssymulers, and hypocrytes: And they haue called the other agayne proude persons, couetous, vayne gloryouse, and louers of wordely delytes, and suche other.'

Of some partyculare varyaunce among dyuerse persons of the clergy haue I dyuerse tymes herde / as sometye one person agaynste an other for hys tythes / or a person agaynste a relygyouse place for medelynge wythin hys parysshe / or one place of relygyon wyth another vpon some suche lyke occasyon / or somtyme some one relygyon haue had some questyon and dysputed as it were a probleme, vppon thantiquyte or senyoryte of theyr instytucion, as by whyche the carmelytes clayme to fetcche theyr orygynall from Helias & Heli-zeus. And some question hath arysē in the order of saynt Francisce, bytwene the obseruauntes & [the]¹ conuentuallys. For as for the thyrde company that is to wyt the coletanis, there are in this realme none. But yet of all these maters was there neuer as farre as I rede or remember, in thys realme eyther so very great or so many suche thynges all in hand at onys, that euer it was at the tyme noted thorow the realme and spoken of for a great notable fawte of the hole clergy. And as for the fawtes of some partyculare partys eyther persons or placys, is nothyng that oughte of reason be rekened for the cause of thys diuysyon, and of thys dyspleasure and grudge of the temporalte agaynste the clergie / no more than many mo varyaunces growynge dayly in dyuerse tymes and places, wyth vnlawfull assembles and greate ryottes also, cause the clergie to grudge agaynste the temporalte. And as it is not reason that it so were / so that it is not in dede maye well be perceyued by thys. For yf it were / then must thys grudge of ours agaynste them haue ben a very olde thyng / where as it is in dede neyther so great as this man maketh it, and growen to so great as it is, but euyn

More.—I have sometimes heard of local differences among the clergy upon questions of tithes, or jurisdiction, or seniority among religious orders; and I am aware of the division among the Franciscans.

But I recall no such concurrence of these differences as disturbed the whole realm or provoked complaint against the entire body of the clergy.

Local causes can hardly be assigned for the grudge that he describes.

Had it been due to local causes, it would have arisen long ago. What grudge actually exists has grown up of late since the distribution of

¹ 'the' c.

the books of
Tyndale, Frith,
and Barnes.

of late synne Tindals bokes and Frythes and frere Barons beganne to go abrode. And yet all though that it appereth well in hys wordes afterward, that those varyaunces can be no parte or cause of this diuision wherof he maketh his boke: yet hath it delyted eyther hym selfe or some sotle shrewes *that* so haue sette hym a wurke to brynge them in to, of a good mynde & a fauorable, to lay these fawtes to *the* clergyes face, bysyde the mater of thys dyuysyon that he taketh in hande to treat of.

Though he reproaches both religious and priests for their contention, it is clear from his climax of lament that he himself assigns the pre-eminence to the secular priests.

Now the remanau^{nt} (wherby somewhat appere thalso,¹ that by the encrease of his oracyon, wyth puttynge in the ende, 'and that is yet more to be lamented also bytwene prestes and prestes', he ment to put for the more lamentable strife, that variaunce which falleth bytwene seculare prestes, then that that falleth bytwene those that bysyde theyr order of prestehed, haue by theyr holy vowys entred into relygyon) he handeleth here in suche wyse that he fyrst reprocheth bothe the partys of greate syngularyte, whyche bothe relygyouse persones & also prestys haue had to theyr statys of lyuyng / by whyche wordes he sheweth, that eche of them contende wyth other vpon the perfeccyon of theyr two states whyther sholde haue preemynence, these prestes that are seculare or those that are relygyouse / & whych of the bothe hym selfe taketh for the chyef appereth, by the pytuouse encrease & growing of hys lamentable oracyon.

Then he rebukes some of the religious that seem to be the best.

Then rebuketh he of *the* relygyouse, some that haue apparaunce to be the moste perfyte and beste / and sayth, 'that thorow the great syngularyte that they haue to theyr state of lyuyng, they haue exalted them selfe in theyr owne syght so hyghe, that they haue rysen into suche a gostely pryde, that they haue in maner dysdayned and despysed other, that haue not lyued in suche perfeccyon, as they thynke they do.'

This rebuke is based upon a mere guess. Yet even if it be true that

This is a great thyng spoken by gesse, bycause among many good vertuose folke, there may fall some by the deuyls meanes into some great gostely pryde,

¹ 'appere thalso': appereth also '57.

as Lucyfer dyd in *the* good company of angelles. But thys chaunce of suche chaunge is so olde, that these wordes wyll nothyng serue his lamentable begynnynge / whyche standeth ye wote well in lamentynge the chaunge from the old vertues of times passed, into the new vyces of this tyme present. And this vyce is very old, & reigned most when relygyouse folke lyued beste. And verily the clergie is not all thyng so euyl as he maketh yt, yf *the* relygyouse folke lyue now so holyly, as the temporalty may note that thorow perfytnes of lyuyng, the deuyll brynge so many to suche an hygh spyce of pryde.

some of the religious have fallen into spiritual pride, that condition is hardly so novel as to explain this recent grudge.

But then goth he forth and setteth *them* to chydre together. How be it his wordes be so confounded wyth they and them and other / and in the two versys of theyr chydynge his wordes be so vnsewely sorted, that I can not perceyue which of the two partes calleth whiche nor who calleth whome, by those names that he sayth the tone sorte calleth *the* tother / nor hym selfe I suppose neyther, as the thyng that he neuer knew for trew, but thynketh he may boldely tell euery thyng for trewe, that any man perceyueth possyble.

Then he proceeds to set them to chiding one another, but with such a babel of pronouns that no one can tell the chiding from the chidden.

The . xvi . chapyter.

‘AND an other parte of this dyuisyon hath rysen by dyuersyties of opynyons, that haue ben vpon the authorityes, powers, and iurysdyccyon of spyrytuall men amonge theym self. And vpon these dyuysyons some laye men haue in tyme paste fauored the one parte / and some the other: wherby the people haue greatly be inquieted.’

Pac. — This division arose partly from questions of jurisdiction among the clergy, upon which the laity have taken sides to the distress of the nation.

Dyuerse opynyons vpon powers, authorityes, and iurysdyccyons of spyrytuall men amonge them selfe, there happeneth I thynke nowe & then to ryse, whyle in suche cases eyther parte hath his opynyon vpon his owne syde. But of any great inquietacyon that *the* people hath had by any suche dyuysyon rysen wythin

More. — It is true that such questions have arisen now and then; but surely the nation has not been distressed by them for the past twenty years, within which his alleged division is sprung up.

thys realme / or of any lay men beryng theyr fauour some to the tone parte and some to the tother, I wene the peple of this realme that felt yt haue forgeten yt, yf any suche were yt is so longe a go. And surely my self remember none, nor I trow no man elles for the tyme of this . xx . yere / wythin whyche tyme or tenne fewer, all thys gere is begonne wherof he maketh hys dyuysyon. And therefore this pyece of his is to my felynge very coulede.

The . xvii . chapyter.

Pac. — But there has developed of late, from causes that I do not fully understand, a serious division between the clergy and the laity throughout the realm. And it is a great pity that such a thing should be noised abroad.

‘BUT I wote not fully by what occasyon yt is, that nowe of late the great multytude of all the laye people haue founde defaulte / as well at prestes as religyous, so farre forth that yt is now in maner noted through all the realme, that there is a great dyuysyon bytwene the spyrytualtye and the temporaltye. And verly yt is great pytye, that such a noyse shuld spryng and go abrode.’

In the begynnyng he sayd that dyuysyon reyneth now betwene spyrytuall men and spyrituall men. And then sayth he here: But it reyneth now bytwene spyrytuall men and temporall men.

More. — I will not shoot at his ‘but’, though it is a tempting target.

I am contente to let his ‘but’ alone, and wyll not shote therat for this ones. How be yt surely his ‘but’ beynge a preposycyon aduersatyue, standeth more properly to shote at betwene his two ‘nowes’, then yt wolde yf yt were turned into some coniunccyon copulatyue.

Though he cannot fully understand the cause of this general fault-finding, any one should be able to find causes enough, not only in priests and religious, but also in all classes of the laity, and perhaps, by diligent search, even in himself.

But where as he can not fully tell by what occasyon the great multitude haue founde defeaute, as well at prestes as religyous / a man nedeth neuer to study for occasyons therof / but yf he be so curyouse as to seke for fautes, he maye sone fynd inough, not onely in prestes and in relygyous, but in euery sorte and kynde of temporall people to, & euer might yet in euery age syth crystendome beganne, and may peraduenture yf he serche well, fynde some in hym self to. So *that* yf there be no nother cause of varyaunce then that / they may both spyritualty and temporalty take eche other by

the hande like good felowes, and agre to gether well enough.

But yet happeth yt well that this good pacifyer hath so great pytye, that the noyse of this diuision shold spryng and go abrode. For he to remedy that mater with all, and to pul backe the noyse therof, and to stoppe vppe clerely the sprynge / bycause all shold be hushte and neuer mo wordes made therof, hath as ye se put yt oute abrode in prent.

This Pacifier, you see, so deeply regrets the noising abroad of this division that he proceeds to publish a book about it.

The .xviii. chapter.

‘AND some alledge dyuerse causes why yt shold be so noysed.’

A very fewe folke may sone begynne a noyse of euyl wyll and malyce. And a noyse maye sone be borne abrod what so euer *the* mater be, with some of symplicite, some of light geuyng credence, & some of a luste vnto talkyng.

‘Fyrste they saye, that neyther prestes nor religyouse¹ kepe the perfeccyon of theyr order to the honour of god & good example of the people, as they shulde do.’

Pac. — Some say that this rumour is due to the fact that neither priests nor religious are perfect.

Veryly they that so saye, peraduenture saye not myche vntrewe. For I thynke that euery mannys dewty toward god is so great, that very fewe folke serue hym as they shold do. And therfore who so pryde vpon euery mannys dede so narrowly, as to spy that faute and fall at variaunce of greate zeale with euery man that doth not to the very poynt and perfeccyon, euyn all that he shold do / shall waxe within a whyle at varyaunce wyth euery man & euery man wyth hym. But I suppose they kepe it now at thys day, mych what after suche a good metely meane maner, as they dyd many of those yeres before in which thys dyuysyon was neuer dremed on. And therfore they that saye thys is the cause / have nede to go seke some other.

M o r e. — Doubtless few enough will be found perfect if they are subjected to prying scrutiny. But I suppose they come about as near to perfection as they came in past years before any one dreamed of this division.

¹ ‘nor religyouse’: nor the religious ’57.

Pac. — They say that some seek their own honour, and prefer power to the good of the people.

More. — Has this fault been developed so recently as to explain the present division? Is it characteristic of all the clergy? And was there not some desire for prelace among the very apostles of Christ?

‘But that some of them procure theyre owne honour, and call yt the honour of god, and rather coueyt to haue rule ouer the people then to profyte the people.’

were there neuer none of these tyll nowe so late as about the begynnyng of thys dyuysyon / or be they all such now? Amonge Crystes own apostoles was some desyre of prelacye, and that wyth some contencion to. There are of oure prelates some suche at thys day now, as I pray god that when there shal any new come, they maye proue no wurse. For of these whan they dye yf they waxe not wurse byfore / who so shal lyue after them, may in my mynde be bold to say, that englande had not theyr better any day thys . xl . yere, and I durste go a good waye aboue to. But thys is more by twenty yere and ten sette therto, then this diuysion hath any thyng be spoken of.

Pac. — They say some seek ease and luxury more than any layman commonly does.

More. — Was it otherwise in Christ’s own days? Was not Judas worse than the worst of the laity of any time? But would the laity be so unreasonable as to quarrel on such grounds with the entire body of the clergy?

‘And that some couet theyr bodyly ease and worldly welth, in meate and drynke, and suche other, more then commonly any temporall man doth.’

This is a very colde cause of thys new dyuysyon, to say that there be not now comenly so badde men in the temporaltye as there be some in the spirytualtye. For whan was it otherwyse? not euyn in Crystes owne dayes. For Iudas that was one of hys owne apostles, was not onely wurse then the comon sorte of all those that loued theyr belyes and theyr ease amonge Crystes dyscyples were they men or women / but wurse also than the very wurste in all the world bysyde. But what cause were thys that the temporaltye shold (nor though thys man saye thus, I thynke theym not so vnreasonable that they wold) be at debate & dyuysyon wyth the hole body of the clergy, bycause that some of them were wurse then those are that are in a meane comon sorte of noughtynesse amonge them selfe.

Pac. — They say some serve God only for worldly praise and glory.

More. — There may be such

‘And that some serue god for a wordely laude and to be magnified therfore, more then for the pure loue of god.’

That same some that so do, be some of the most folysh apys that the deuyll hath to tumble afore hym and

to make hym lawghe, when he seeth them take so mych laboure & payne for the rewarde of the blast of a fewe mennes mowthes.

How be it there maye be some suche for all that, & yet nothyng to the purpose of thys mater. For as for the speche of folys is not to be compted for a profe of dyuysyon. And amonge wyse men the gesse and coniection that in the clergy there be secretly some very noughte before god, whom yet in the syghte of the worlde men take for very good, can by no reason be the cause of any grudge toward the spyrytualty, wherin maye be bysyde them that are such and so there are in dede, many very vertuose holy men in dede / whose holynesse and prayour hath bene I verily thynke one great special cause, that god hath so longe holden his hande from geuyng of some sorer stroke vpon the neckes of them that are nought & care not in the spyrytualty and the temporaltye bothe.

And yet thys fawte that thys pacyfyer assygneth of seruynge god for lawde, is I suppose somewhat amended of late / & wyll within a whyle if some gere go forward, were a way quyte by the helpe and meanys of an other fawte.

For yf these heresyas that rayle vppon relygyons, and call all theyr prayour paterynge, and all theyr fastynge folly, & all theyr holy vowys of chastyte worse then frere Luthers lechery: yf these heresyas I saye may grow and go forward, as they begynne to grow now and prosper full pretily in some places / & then yf those that be of the same secte, and of polycy dyssymule it for a season, maye in the meane tyme sprede abrode an opynyon in the myndes of menne that of them self mene none harme, that the relygyouse people do faste and pray but for lawde: they shall wel perceyue wythin a whyle, that they shall haue so lytell lawd therof, that yf there wolde remayne none other cause of thys dyuysyon but bycause they serue god for lawde, ye shall haue it soone chaunged of lykelyhed / and then shall we shortely agre togyther very well.

fools, but they will not serve the purpose here.

Wise men, though they may suspect that some apparently holy men among the clergy are evil in the sight of God, will not make that suspicion a cause of grudge against the whole body, in which are many very virtuous and holy men.

But I take it that the fault of serving God for the sake of the praise of men is somewhat amended of late.

And if the heretical attacks upon the religious practices of praying, fasting, and vowing celibacy continue to prosper and spread, this particular fault will soon cease to be a cause of division.

But all of these some-say faults have existed for so long that they can scarcely be brought forth in explanation of a division that has arisen so recently.

But now good reders consyder I beseche you, that yf these causes whyche thys pacyfyer alledgeth vnder the coloure of Some say, be causes that myghte moue the temporaltye to be in dyuysyon and grudge agaynst the clergye / that is to wytte bycause they serue not god as they sholde do, but some of them loue authoryte and some loue theyr ease, and some serue god of vayne glory for lawde and prayse of men: thanne sholde thys dyuysyon not haue so late bygon, but muste haue bene euer before / and can neuer be remedyed hereafter, but as longe as the worlde lasteth muste thys dyuysyon euer contynue styll.

When among Christ's own apostles one out of only twelve was wicked, can this Pacifier expect that none shall be wicked in the whole body of our clergy? Indeed if the decline of faith and the spread of heresies continue, we may eventually be glad to find, out of every twelve, one man that is good.

For how coude thys pacyfyer fynde the meanes, that in the whole clergys so many as are therin, none sholde be noughte / when of Chrystes apostles there was yet one nought in the smale number of twelue. And verily in thys declynacyon of the worlde, & by this great fall of faith, the olde feruour of cheryte so begynnynge to cole: it is to be fered at length, that yf it thus go forth and contynue, bothe the spyrytualtye from thapostles, and the temporaltye from the other dysciples, maye fall so farre downe downe downe downe, that as there was than one nought amonge twelue, so may there in tyme comyng yf these heresydes go forward, amonge twelue spyrytuall or peraduenture twenty temporall eyther, be founden at last in some whole cuntre scante any one good. But *that* worlde is not I thanke god in Englande yet, nor neuer shall I truste come.

Our Pacifier will not easily succeed in making all men good. So, if the wickedness of some may justify the division, we must always be more or less divided.

How be it *that* all may be made good that wyll be harde for thys pacyfyer to deuysse the meanes. So that if the being of some noughte maye be a good cause of dyuysyon / dyuysyon maye be by sometyme fewer noughte, made sometyme somewhat lesse / but ende can it neuer haue whyle the worlde standeth.

Even if he could succeed in making all the clergy good, still, since he attributes the division to the

But yf this pacyfyer to cease and quenche this dyuysyon, coude fynde the meanes to make al the whole clergy good: yet for all that, syth he layeth for causes of this dyuysyon, that some men say this by the clergy, and

some men saye by them that / were all the clergy neuer so good in dede, and serued god neuer so weil, thys diuysyon by hys owne tale, yet coulede not for all that cease / excepte he coulede prouyde farther, *that* no pytouse pacifyer sholde in lamentynge of diuysion, put forth a boke and say, that some lay men say *that* some of the clergie be nought, and loue theyr ease & theyr welth / and that some saye that those that seme beste and take most labour and payne, be but ypocrytes for all that, & serue god but for vayne glorie to gete theym selfe laude and prayse amonge the people.

fact that some men say this and some say that, we should continue to be divided unless he could further provide that no piteous Pacifier should publish a bookful of some-says.

The . xix . chaptyer.

‘AND some lay men saye farther, that though relygyouse men haue varyed wyth relygyouse / and that some prestes haue varied also with relygyous in some poyntes concernynge the premynence of theyr perfeccyon / as is sayde before: that yet in suche thynges as perteyne to the mayntenaunce of the wordely¹ honour of the chyrche and of spyrytuall men, whych they call the honour of god / and in suche thynges as perteyne to the encrease of the ryches of spyrytuall men, relygyous or seculer, they say they agree all in one.’

Pac.—And some say that, though religious have differed among themselves and with priests, they all agree upon maintaining the worldly honour of the Church and clergy (which they call the honour of God) and upon increasing the clergy's riches.

As for callyng the worldly honour of *the* chyrch & of spyrytuall men, the honour of god: I wote nere whether I perceyue well what this man meaneth therby. But by the fyrste of those two thynges, that ys to wyt by the worldly honour done to the chyrch, and taken as honour done to god, he semeth to meane the honoure that crysten people here in the world vse to do to the chyrch, as in byeldyng of *the* chyrches fayre and goodly, & in apparellynge the chyrches for the vse of goddes seruyce honorably.

More.—By the worldly honour done to the Church I take it he means the honour that Christian people pay in building goodly churches and furnishing them honourably for the service of God.

And then in the second poynt, that is to wytte the honour of spyrytuall persons / he meaneth I suppose suche honour as good crysten peple do & are bounden

By the honour of spiritual men I suppose he means the honour that

¹‘wordely’: worldly ’57.

good Christian people pay, and are bound to pay, to prelates and curates, priests and religious, out of respect to their holy orders and professions.

His clause about riches, as he explains later, refers to trentals, chantries, obits, pardons, and pilgrimages.

Now surely the clergy must agree upon these things or displease God; and every good layman must also agree with them.

Yet I have seen the clergy consent to no little loss in such matters rather than contend with the laity.

But unfortunately it is not true that all the clergy agree in these things, for among both secular priests and religious there are some of heretical tendency who speak and write against the honouring of prelates, the building of churches, the buying of bells and ornaments, and against pilgrimages, trentals, chan-

to do to their prelates and their curates, and to prestes and relygyous persons, for the respecte and regarde that they bere both of deuocyon and very bounden diewty, to the holy sacrament of their sacred orders, and holy professyon of their godly state of lyuynge.

Then as for the thyrd poynt that is the thynges that he sayth perteyne to the encrease of ryches in spyrytuall men / hym self declareth sone after, that he meneth trentals, chaunteryes, obytes, pardones, & pylgrymages.

Now sayth he that some laye men laye thys for a farther thyng, that all the clergy do vse to agree to gether in all these thynges, howe so euer they happen to varye among them selfe for some other thynges. And veryly therin I thynke he sayth trewe / for so muste they do or dysplease god / and so doth euery good lay man agre with them therin to. And I haue sene yt proued by experyence, *that* in some of these thynges when the lay men haue moued some thynges some tyme, wherby shold be restrayned some such thynges as *the* clergy myght wynne by / ye and also no lytle somewhat taken from them, to that that lawfully was theyr own byfore: the clergie haue not stryuen wyth the temporaltye therfore / but rather then to stykke in contencion, haue suffered and let yt passe, all be yt the cantelles that haue ben cut of, haue ben somewhat broder then a brydecake, and greter then a chrystmas lofe in a right good husbandes house.

And yet where this pacyfyer sayth, that some lay men say that in all suche thynges all the clergie both seculare & relygyouse agre and holde to gether: hym selfe can yf he wyll tell *the* same some lay men that so told hym so, that some other lay men saye naye. For they say that they se very wel, that in all those thinges there are now some suche of the clergie, suche as yt is pytye that euer they were therof, eyther seculare prestes or relygyouse persons. And yet are there some suche of bothe, whyche now caste of theyr fauour from both twayne, and from the cristen fayth also / and therefore agre not to these

thynges, as those some men told this man that the whole clergy dothe / but do bothe speke & wryte agaynst al these thinges euery whyt, bothe honour to prelates, byldynge of chyrches, byenge of bellys and ornamentes, & agaynst pylgrymages, trentals, chaunteryes, obitis, and perdons, and fynally purgatorye to.

tries, obits, pardons, and even purgatory.

The . xx . chapyter.

‘AND therfore they say, that all spyrytuall men, as to the multytude, be more dylygent to enduce the people to such thinges, as shall bryng ryches to the chyrche, as to gyue money to trentals, & to founde chaunteryes and obytes / and to obteyne pardons, and to go vpon pylgrymages, and such other: then they be to enduce them to the payment of theyre dettes, to make restytucyons for such wronges as they haue done, or to do the workes of mercy to theyr neyghbours that be pore & nedy / and that somtyme be also in ryght extreme necessitye.’

Pac. — They say that most of the clergy are more diligent in inducing the people to give money to trentals, to found obits and chauntries, to obtain pardons, and to go on pilgrimages than in persuading them to pay their debts and to do works of mercy among the poor.

Nowe in good fayth for oughte that I se, suche as so murmur agaynst chauntries, trentals, obytes, pardons, and pylgrymages, as wold haue them all for done / haue an inward hatered vnto the profyt of mens soules, besyde the enuye that they bere to prestes. For some of these thynges be suche that they make not the prestes so very ryche, that all the clergy shold for the great lucre so sore bend vnto the settinge forth therof.

More. — Those who murmur against these institutions object to the profit of men's souls. And the money involved is not so much that the clergy need bend all their energy in this direction.

For as for chaunteryes, though ther be many, no one man can haue any greate lyuyng therby / & that a preste sholde haue some lyuyng of suche a meane thyng as comonly the chauntryes be, there wyll I wene no good man fynde great faute that all the clergy wolde haue it so / for so wolde I suppose euery good lay man to.

Though there be many chauntries, no one man can haue any great living thereby; and no good layman will be sorry that a priest should haue some living from such a source.

And as for pylgrymages, thoughe the shrynes be well garnysshed, and the chapell well hanged wyth wex: fewe men I fere me nede myche at thys daye to grudge and

And as for pilgrimages, few men to-day need complain of burdensome offerings.

complayne of very chargeable offrynges / but those menne make moste a do that offre no thyng at all.

Pardons have been purchased not only by the clergy but also by virtuous princes. And in truth I never saw the people make such great offerings at a pardon that one need pity them or envy the priests.

And pardons haue bene purchased not only by the spyrytualty, but in dyuerse places by the good faythfull deuocyon of vertuouse temporall prynces / as was to westmynster and vnto the Sauoy, greate perdon purchased by the moste noble prynce of famouse memory kynge Henry the seuenth, father to our moste dere souerayne lorde the kynge that now is. And in good fayth I neuer yet perceyued the peple make so great offerynges at a perdon, that we sholde eyther pytye greatly theyr coste, or enuy the prestys that profyte.

But the trentals—those are the source, I suppose, whence the clergy, and especially the prelates, get this infinite treasure!

But than the trentallys lo, they be the thynges ye wote well wherby the multitude of the clergie and specyally the prelates, gete euery man among theym an infynite treasure in a yere / so *that* it is no meruayle though the whole clergie seculare and relygyouse, what variaunce so euer they haue amonge them selfe bysyde, concernynge the preemynence of theyr perfeccyon as thys pacyfyer sayth, agre togyther for all that in thys poynt, to keep and holde faste the trentallys, bycause of the greate encrease of the rychesse that they brynge in by hepes vnto euery man amonge them. I that nothyng can gete by them, beseche god to kepe in mennys deuocyons towarde trentallys & towarde obytes to. For as myche as he sayth that seculare and relygyouse both, stycke to these profites / yet yf religiouse Lutherany maye procede and prospere, that caste of theyr abytes and walke out and wedde nonnys and preche agaynste purgatory, and make mockes of the masse: many men shall care litle for obitis within a while and set no more by a trentall then a ruffiane at Rome setteth by a trent vne.

Though I can get nothing from this source, I pray God to keep men devoted to trentals and obits, in spite of heretical attacks upon both.

Though some say, according to this Pacifier, that most of the clergy induce men to give money for such purposes rather than for payment of debts or for charity,

How be it where thys pacyfyer sayth, that some saye that all spyrytuall men as to the multytude, do rather induce the people to pylgrymages, pardons, chaunteryes, obytys, and trentallys, then to the payement of theyr dettes, or to restytucyon of theyre wronges, or to the dedys of almyse and mercy to theyr neyghbours that are poore

& nedy, & somtyme to in ryghte extreme necessite: for my part I thanke god I neuer herde yet of any one that euer wold geue that counsaile / nor no more hath I se well thys pacyfyer hym selfe, for he sayth it but vnder hys comon fygure of some saye. But therfore thys wolde I saye, that eyther he byleued those some that so sayd vnto hym / or els he byleued them not. If he byleued them not / it hadde bene well done to haue lefte their tale vntolde, tyll he hadde byleued them better. And on the tother syde if he byleued them well / he myghte as well with consyence haue be lesse lyght of bylyefe, or boldely myghte haue byleued that they lyed / rather then lyghtely byleue *the* lewde wordes of some, and vppon the malycyouse mowthes of some, blow abrode in bokes so false a tale hym selfe agaynst not a smale somme, but as hym selfe sayeth as to the multytude agaynste all spyrytuall men.

I never yet heard of any one that gave such counsel; and I dare say the Pacifier himself never did.

It would be well for him to inquire into his some-says before scattering them abroad.

The . xxi . chapyter.

'AND for as myche as yt is most comenly sene, that amonge a great multitude there be many, *that* worke rather vpon wyl then vpon reason / and that though they haue good zele, yet many tymes they lacke good order and dyscrecyon, whyche is the mother of all vertue: therfore some persons thinkyng that wordely honour and ryches letteth greatly deuocyon / so myche that as they thynke, they can not stand to gether, haue holden opinyon, that yt is not lawfull to the chyrche to haue any possessyons. And some takynge a more meane way therin, haue sayde, that (as they thynke) yt ys lawfull & also expedient, that the chyrche haue possessyons: but they thynke, that the gret haboundaunce, that is in the chirch, doth great hurte, and induceth in many of them / a loue to worldely thynges, and letteth and in maner straungleth the loue of god. And therfore they thynke, that it were good to take away that is to mich / and to leue that is sufficyent. And some also, as of a polycye to pull ryches fro the chyrche, haue inueyed agaynste all

Pac. -- Some persons, believing that worldly honour and riches seriously hinder devotion, have held that the Church ought not to have any possessions.

And some, without denying the Church's right to have possessions, believe that its great wealth tends to make it worldly; so that they would advocate taking the excess away.

And some, to draw riches from the Church, have

attacked the sources of its riches, and, contrary to their belief, have denied the existence of purgatory, ascribed the granting of pardons to covetousness, asserted that pilgrimages are without effect, etc.

And some object only to the abuses of these things, believing rightly that the things themselves were ordained by God.

More.—Truly a fruitful crop of some-says!

In those who would deprive the Church of all its livelihood

the Pacifier finds more zeal than discretion. But their zeal is like the zeal which Simon Fish showed in his *Supplication*, and of which he later repented.

suche thynges as brynge ryches to the chyrch. And bycause great ryches haue comme to the chyrche for prayenge for soules in purgatorye, haue by wordes affirmed that there is no purgatory: and that grauntyng of pardons ryseth of couetyse of the chyrch, & profyteth not the peple / & that pylgrimages be of no effecte / and that the chyrche may make no lawes, and suche other thynges / as foundynge of chanuteryes, makynge of brotherhodes, and many mo. wherin they shewe outwardely to ryse agaynst all the thynges before rehersed, and to dyspyse theym / and yet they know and byleue in theyr hartes, that all these thynges be of them self ryght good and profytable, as they be in dede yf they were ordered as they sholde be. And some per-
sones there be, that thorough grace fynde defaute onely at the abusyon and mysse order of such thynges / and speke no thyng agaynste the thynges selfe / neyther of purgatory, pylgrymages, setting vppe of ymages, or suche other. For they know well, they be ordeyned of god, and that the mysorder ryseth onely of man for couetyse, syngularyte, or some other such lyke defaute, thorough perswasyon and desceyte of the gostely enmye.

There is good reders a specyall frutefull pyece of thre maner of Some sayes or thre maner of thynkynge. The fyrste is of those that thynke and saye, that it is not lye-full that the chyrche sholde haue any possessyons / but that all theyr lyuelod and all suche thynges as any rychesse commeth into the chyrch by, shold be taken awaye euery whyt.

And these men in the iudgement of thys pytuouse pacifyer be not dyscrete / but yet they haue he sayth a good zeale though. And thys good zeale hadde ye wote well Simon Fysshe whan he made the supplicacyon of beggers. But god gaue hym such grace afterwarde, that he was sory for that good zeale, and repented hym selfe and came into the chyrche agayne, & forsoke & forsware all the whole hyll of those heresyas, out of whiche the fountayne of that same good zeale sprange.

And of trouthe some suche are there yet, that haue the same good zeale styll that Simon Fyshe had whan he was at the wurste. And god sendeth some of them such good spede as they haue good zeale. For some such haue I knowen that haue engroced in to theyr handes myche other mennys goodes, and for a whyle flowred, & were accompted thryfty, and helde theyr owne & other mennes to / but in conclusyon wasted awaye bothe twayne, and fayne to fynde a place to hyde theyr heddes, or to kepe them from pryson fynde some other shyfte.

Of these¹ sorte was there one not very longe a go, whiche wente aboute to make a good bargayne, and was not than knowen but for his owne man / and yet is now god be thanked his own man agayn, for any other man that he hath to wayte vpon hym. But so happed it than that as he sat in a tauerne in Lumberdes strete wyth an honeste merchaunt wyth whome he shold haue bargayned / the tother had herd an inclynge whyche yet he beleued not, *that* this man was not mych afore hand. And as they fell in talkyng of the worlde, they talked at laste of the clergy: wherin whan he was fallen, he waxed so warme wyth the wyne, and so full of good zeale, that he sware by *the* masse he trusted shortely to se them lese all / & that the kyng sholde put theym all for euer out of hys proteccyon. And wyth that worde he clapped his fyste vpon the borde, with suche a feruent zeale that hys own proteccion fell out of his sleue. whych whan the tother perceyued / brother (quod he) you be not a thefe I thynke, and therfore I truste it is no perdon that ye haue purchaced there. you truste you say to se the clergy put out of the kynges proteccion / and I purpose to se you oute of the kynges proteccion, ere you and I bargayne ony more togyther. And suche banke ruptes be these men of that good zeale, that gape after the spoyle of the spyrytualty / whych whan they haue wasted and mysse spent theyr owne, wolde than very fayne saue for hangyng robbe spyrytuall and temporall to.

¹ 'these': thys '57.

And there are still men that have such zeal. And God sends some of them such good speed as they deserve.

An anecdote of one of these zealous brethren.

The . xxii . chapyter.

The Pacifier characterizes as discreet those who advocate the confiscation of the clergy's superfluous wealth. But I know not by what right any man may be deprived, against his will, of what is already lawfully his.

Whatever motive be assigned for such an act, the theory, once allowed, may be stretched to cover much more than the possessions of the clergy.

It is true that many men who in poverty appeal to God, in riches forget Him. But this generalization applies both to clergy and laity; and in both bodies meets with exceptions. Indeed if it could be shown that great wealth were absolutely incompatible with the love of God, no man, spiritual or temporal,

THE second sorte that thys pacyfyer speketh of, be they that thynke & saye that it were good to take awaye from the clergy all that is to myche, and leue that is suffycient / bycause that greate habundaunce letteth they say, and in maner straungleth *the* loue of god. And these that thus saye / thys pacyfyer alloweth for folke wyse & dyscrete. But by what right men maye take awaye from any man spyrytuall or temporall agaynste hys wyll, the lande that is all redy lawfully hys owne / that thyng thys pacyfyer telleth vs not yet. But he wyll peraduenture at an other tyme tell vs of some men that laye this reason and that reason for it. But I haue herde some good and wyse and well lerned men saye, that all the worlde can neuer brynge the reason that euer can preue it ryghte. And as for myne own parte, lyke as I haue somewhat more largely sayed in my boke of the supplycacyon of the soules / yf any man wold gyue the counsaile to take any mannys lande or good from hym, pretendynge that he hath to myche, or that he vseth it not well, or that it myght be better vsed yf some other had it: he gyueth such a counsaile as he maye when he lyst, and wyll peraduenture after, streche a great dele ferther then the goodys or possessions of onely spyrytuall men.

And where he sayth that some saye that great habundaunce doth lette, and in maner strangle the loue of god: *that* is many tymes very trew, that many men in plenty forgete god, whyche in penury runne vnto hym. But thys reason runneth out agaynste euery kynde of men spyrytuall and temporall to / and yet are there in bothe twayne some, in whome the loue of god is neyther letted nor strangled therwyth / but it is made by the good vse therof the mater and occasyon of meryte. whyche yf it myghte not be, but must nedes lette and strangle the loue of god / then were *that* reason so stronge agaynst all men, that no man myght with oute dedely synne kepe any habundaunce in hys handes. And than yf to wythdrawe

that ineuytable necessaryte of dampnable dedely synne, it were lawfull to take as mych a waye from any one man, as the remanaunt that were left hym sholde be but euyne sufficyent: the same reason wold as I sayserue with one lytell wrenche ferther, to take in lyke wyse awaye from euery other man were he spyrytuall or temporall, in whome there myght be layed apparence of so mych habundaunce, that it letted hym to loue god. For that is ye wote well euery man bounde to do spyrytuall and temporall bothe.

might retain
such an abund-
ance without
deadly sin.

And on the tother syde yf there be taken from no man any thyng, but from him that hath so mych, as no man that hath so mych, may so loue god as he may come to heuen / then shall there be from no man taken any thyng. For I doute not but that there are at thys day holy sayntes in heuyn, of suche as were spyrytuall and of such as were temporall to, that hadde whyle they lyued here, as great possessyons as hath eyther spyrytuall or temporall wythin the realme of Englande now.

But I doubt
not that there
are holy saints
in heauen who
on earth had as
great posses-
sions as any
man in England
to-day.

Moreouer syth this pacifyer accompteth them for dyscrete, that leuyng the clergy sufficyent, wolde that all the remanaunt were taken away from them, bycause the great habundaunce letteth them they say to loue god: yt hadde ben well done that he hadde somewhat declared his mind how lytle he calleth sufficyent / lest *that* some of his discret folke wold vndyscretely mysse construe that worde, and for lacke of suche fauour & pytye as hym selfe ye se well bereth to *the* clergy, wolde leue theym to lytle and call yt ynough. For yf this pacifyer wolde moder & measure his sufficyencye by the wordes of saynte Poule, where he sayth: Hauyng mete and drynke and where wyth to be couered, lette vs be content: excepte hym selfe that loueth theym go farther therin and appoynte them theyr fare & theyr apparell to, some other happily that loue them not so well, wyll deuyse them a diete as thynne as Galiene deuyseth for hym that hath an obstruccyon in his lyuer / and bycause saynt Poule speketh but of keueryng, wyll dyuyse them

Our Pacifier
ought to define
what he means
by 'sufficient'
wealth, lest some
of his 'discret'
men should lack
his own great
devotion to the
clergy

and, taking the
words of St. Paul
too literally,
leave them too
scant provision.

clothes that shall onely keuer theym & not kepe them warme.

And what these discreet men take away from some of the wealtheiest of the clergy they ought still to leave within the Church until those of the clergy who now have insufficient have been provided for. And if there is any residue after this process, we ought to know in advance how these discreet persons propose to deal with it.

Bysyde this, yt semeth that yet his dyscrete folke sholdenot vnder the name of habundaunce, take all from *the* chyrch that they wold take from euery man to whome they wolde leue bare suffycyent / but that they rather shold such as they wold take from one that hath more then suffycyent, dyuyde it amonge suche other of the chyrche that haue lesse then suffycyent. Now yf they shold yet besydes this (whyche I wene they sholde not) fynde yet a great some remaynyng after all the spyrytuall folke suffyciently prouyded for / then hadde it ben good that he had yet farther dyuysed, howe yt wolde please hym *that* his discretessholde order *that* remanaunt. For though they be as he taketh them dyscrete persons of them selfe, bycause they wold take away but the great habundaunce, and leue but the bare suffycyent: yet theyr dyscrecyon shall do a great deale the better, yf yt lyke hym to geue them his dyscrete counsaile to.

when it shold come to this poynt / here myght peraduenture hym self & his discretess make vs many deuycys, & euer the more the more vndyscrete.

Within these four or five years I have heard some playful conversations about these questions when various members of the clergy were present.

I haue bene wythin these foure or fyue yeres (For byfore I herde lytell talkyng of suche maner of dyuycys) but within thys foure or . v . yeres, I haue ben at such dyuyces in diuers good mery companies, neuer earnestely talkyng therof (For as yet I thanke god that of thys mater I neuer herde any suche) but for passe tyme by waye of famylyare talkyng, haue I herde dyuerse, bothe in hande wyth prelates and seculare prestys and relygyouse persons, and talked of theyr lyuyng, and of theyr lernyng, and of theyr lyuelod to / and whither them selfe were such as it were better to haue them or lacke them / and then touchyng theyr lyuelod whyther it myghte be lawfully taken from them or not / and yf it myght, whyther it were expedyent so to be / & if it so were, then to what vse. And in many suche mery talkynges I haue alway remembred / & bycause our communi-

cacyon came sometyne to a myche lyke poynte, sometyne haue I told and rehersed the story that Titus Liuius telleth of one Pacuius Calanius *the* Capuaue, in the thyrd boke of his thyrd decade that treateth of *the* Romainys warre wyth Hanibal and the city of Carthage. This Capua was of all Italy the chyefe cytye, and of the gretest power saue onely the cytye of Rome. In which cytye so happed it, that the comynaltye were fallen in grudge and murmur, and at dyuysyon wyth the senate/as thys pacyfyer sayth that the temporaltye is here at these dayes agaynste the clergy. wherupon this Calanius beyng a senator, and natheles lenyng all vnto the people (bycause he saw them by sufferance and ouersyghte of the senate, growen into an vnbyrdeled lyberty / and as they must be whan they conspyre whole togyther, waxen the more myghty parte) studyed & bythought hym selfe what meane he might inuente fyrst to bryng the senate in hys daunger / and than by some benefyte wyn all theyr good wylls / and yet therwyth all encrease his fauoure with the people bysyde. Vppon thys beyng as it happed the chyef gouernour of the citye for the tyme / he brake vppon a daye sodaynly to the senate, & told them that them selfe wyst wel inough what grudge the people had to them / but the parel and daungeour that they then presently stode in, that he sayd wyste they not. But he knew well that the people entended now after *the* great ouerthrow whyche the Romainys hadde late hadde at Cannas, to kyll vp all the senators, & breke theyr lege with the Romainys and fall into the part of Hanniball. How be it quod he yf ye dare putte your selfe in my hande / I haue deuised a way wherby ye shall se me shortly, not onely saue all your lyuys but also perserue your state. And whan the senators in that sodayne fere agreed to putte hym whole in truste to order all *the* mater as he wold: he commaunded them all sodaynly to be locked faste in theyr counsaile chamber / and settinge armed men at the gate to se that neyther any other man sholde entre in vnto them, nor any of *them* come out: he

This banter often recalled Livy's story of Pacuvius Calavius the Capuan.

The commons of Capua, as it happened, were at division with the senate.

Calavius, himself a senator, sought by some coup to gain the confidence and gratitude of both parties. Being at the time governor of the city, he told the senate one day that they were in grave danger from the people,

but promised that if they put themselves in his power, both they and the state should be saved. Upon their consent he locked them in their council chamber under guard.

Then, assembling the people, he announced to them that the revenge which they had long desired was now possible through his policy, and they might proceed upon it without danger to themselves since the senators were locked up under guard.

called sodaynly to an assemble the whole people of the cytye / & there sayd in thys wyse vnto them. The thyng that ye haue dere frendes these many dayes myche desyred, that ye myghte ons be reuenged vppon thys vnhappy senate, and amoue theym from the rome that by theyr couetouse and cruell delyng haue well shewed theym selfe full vnmetely to bere the name of fathers vnto the people: this thyng haue I now by polycy for your sakes peasybly brought vnto your handes / & that in suche wyse as ye shall not nede to fyghte therefore, or assawte perticularely theyr howses. In expugnacyon wherof, beyng as they wolde be fensed wyth theyr seruantes and theyr frendes, your selfe myghte stande in parell. But I haue shette them vppe yender togyther alone by them self, clene out of armour with out ayd or any maner defence, where you shal haue them all without any mannys deth or stroke.

At this the people would have set off at once upon their revenge. 'Sirs,' cried he, 'there is no such need of haste; for the senators are safe enough!'

At this word gladde was all the people / and geuynge hym hygh thankes, wold forth wyth fayne haue ben vppon them. Syrs there nedeth in this poynt none hast quod he / but one thyng is there that yf ye thought theron, ye wold I dare say do fyrste. For they be the whyle saufe ynough, there as they scape not from you. But I haue euer knowen you so wyse, that ye wyll not I wote well set your short present pleasure byfore your perpetuall welthe, whyche ye se well ye sholde do yf ye sholde lyue lawlesse and wythoute a rule / nor no lawe can serue excepte there be some gouernours. And therefore two thynges muste ye do at ones / that is to wyt, both remoue these, & also set of your selues some better men in theyr places. wherfore I haue broughte here theyr names in a pot. Let them be drawn oute / and as they come vnto hande, determyne your pleasure of theyre persons, and substytute therwyth theyr successors. This mocion of Calaius was such, *that* eyther of reason they could not myslyke yt, or ellys for shame they wolde not refuse yt. And theruppon oute was there

But first you must remove these and elect better men in their places.'

drawen a name, at the herynge wherof the¹ cryed out all the company, & ² euyll and a noughtye man, and bode a way wyth hym. Very well *quod* Calaiuius / whome wyll you now name to put in his place. At that they pawsed a lytle and began to bythynke them. But shortely some named one and some named a nother. But with perusyng after this fashyon of a fewe, there was none that one man named & auauunced for good, but fyue for that one reiected hym / as eyther very nought, or at the leste more vnmete to take in, then he whom they wolde put oute. So that longe ere they hadde perused halfe / as mych as they mysselyked many of theyr olde, yet founde they yt so harde a thyng to fynd out the better new, that they waxed wery of the sekyng. So that Calaiuius perceuyng them begyn in the mater somewhat to staker and staye / persuaded them easely to concorde wyth those that they hadde byfore / & theruppon they left of theyr eleccyon, and let the new chosen passe, and kepte theyr old senate styll.

And surely somewhat lyke but not all after this fashyon, hath yt fared in such good company as yt hath happed me to be at communycacyon vpon these maters of the clergy. For in conclusion after many fautes layed agaynst the spyrytualty that is now, and many new dyuysses for theyr landes / when we came at last vnto Calaiuius pageaunt, and those that founde the fautes in the body at large, in suche a large fashyon layed forthe by them, as though ther were not one good man amonge them: when they had the names of this prelate and that prelate recyted and rehersed vnto them by rowe, and were asked what saye you by hym, and what by hym / all be yt *that* they dyd by some of them say they were noughte, and that yf lyke as the Capuans shold haue chaunged a senatour for a comuner, so yf they sholde for euery one of the spyrytualtye take into hys place by choyce and eleccyon some good tem-

Then Calavius began to read their names and to call for the nominations of their successors.

But, much as they disliked their old senators, they found it so impossible to agree upon better men

that before long they wearied of the attempt, and were persuaded to keep the senators they had.

The conversations that I have mentioned ended in somewhat the same way.

For when, after much criticism, the critics came to consider our prelates individually, they found some, it is true, whose places they thought they could fill with better men from the laity;

¹ 'the': thei '57.

² '&': an *M*.

and others whom they thought they could barely match, though in my opinion they did not quite succeed; and still others whose equal, we all agreed, could not be found.

porall man, they myght for this prelate or that concernynge some of theym, shortely make a good chaunge. For some of them thoughte they suche, as for one poynte or other they could not lyghtly find a worse. yet on *the* tother syde agayne, at some of them they stayed and stakered, and wyth myche worke broughte forth some at last, with whom they myght as they thoughte matche them / and yet by theyr owne confession no more then matche theym, & in my mynde not so mych neyther / but lyke as in some they & I somewhat varyd, so in dyuerse other we were agreed both, that for to make the chaunge, neyther coulede they fynde theyr better nor theyr matche neyther.

Now if we had in this way considered the whole body of the clergy,

though we might have found laymen enough to match the wicked secular priests and the religious who have broken their vows, it would not have been easy to find so many to match the good.

If these some-sayers should be asked to enter this 'wealthy' and 'glorious' life of religion, take the place of those they criticized, and live better, they would answer, I fear, that they were not yet weary of this world.

Even if they should be invited to enter and live only as

Nowe where as we went thus no farther then the prelates / yf we sholde haue perused ouer *the* whole clergy bothe relygyouse and seculares / though we mought haue found out some that bothe moughte and gladly wolde haue ben chaunged for the prelates (for I haue herde many laye men that wold be byshoppes with a good wyll) and though we moughte haue also founden ynough of those that wolde matche theym that are euyll & naughty seculare prestes, and them that are runne out of relygyon to, & that wolde and were able to matche theym in theyr owne wayes were they neuer so bad: yet of those that wolde matche *the* good as fewe as some folke wolde haue *them* seme, yt wolde not I wene as the worlde goth now, be very easy to fynde oute so many. But as welthy, and as easy, and as gloryouse as some say to this pacyfyer that religyon is / yet yf some other shold say to them, lo syrs these folke that are in religyon shall out, come you into relygyon in theyr stedes, and¹ lyue there better then they do, and you shall haue heuyn / they wolde answeere I fere me, that they be not yet wery of this world.

Then yf they were inuited into relygyon on the tother fashyon, and were sayde vnto them thus: Syrs we will

¹ 'and' omitted '57.

not byd you lyue so straye in relygyon as these men shold haue done / come on and enter, and do but euen as they dyd, and then shall you there haue a good easy lyfe and a welthy, and myche worldely prayse therewyth: I wene a man sholde not yet for all that gete theym to go to yt. But as easy as we call it, and as welthy to / and now peraduenture when our wyues are angry, wyshe our selfe therin: yet yf yt were thus offred, we wolde play as Isope telleth a fable of a pore olde man / whych beryng vppe an hyll a bourden of bussches in his necke, for helpe of his necessite pantyng for werynesse, in the mydde way layed downe his burden and satte him down & syghed, and waxed so wery of his lyfe *that* he wysshed & called for deth. wheruppon deth came anone redyly towarde hym, & asked hym, what wylt thou wyth me. But when the pore felow saw hym *the* lene horeson there so redy: I called you syr quod he to pray you do so mych for me, as helpe me vppe agayne wyth this bychede burdayne, and laye yt in my necke. So wene I that for all our wordes, yf that easy lyfe and welthy that is in relygyon, were offered vs / as wery as we be of wed-dyngge, we wold rather abyde all oure olde payne abrode, then in a cloyster take a relygyouse mannys lyfe for ease. So that in conclusyon we sholde be fayne eyther to putte worse in theyre stede, or kepe our old styll, tyll as they lytle and litle dye and depart, god in lyke wyse lytle & lytle as he hath euer hytherto prouyded, shall inspyre his grace into the brestes of other, and make theym fall in deuocyon and enter into relygyon, and so succede in theyr places.

Now as yt fared in our *communycacyon* by the spyritual persons / so fared yt in a maner by the spyrytuall mennys possessyons. Not for that we myght not alway fynde other ynough content to entre into theyr possessyons, thought¹ we coulde not alwaye fynd other men ynough content to enter in theyr relygyons, but for

well as the present members of the clergy, they would not consent, I suspect, for all the ease and wealth.

Upon such terms we might all prove like the old man in Esop's fable.

And we should be forced to retain our present clergy, or to put worse men in their places.

Our conversations about the clergy's possessions came to much the same conclusion save that we never fancied it would be hard to find men willing to enter into them.

¹ 'thought': though '57.

We could not, however, agree upon how these possessions might better be employed. What seemed, for example, at first to promise relief for the poor, seemed upon further consideration likely to increase the number of beggars.

that in¹ dyuysynge what way they shold be better bestowed, such ways as at the fyrste face semed very good, and for the comfort and helpe of pore folke very charytable, appered after vppon reasonynge, more likely within a while to make many beggers mo, then to releue them *that* are all redy. And some way *that* appered at *the* fyrst to mow stande the realme in great stede, and be an increase of the kynges honour, wyth a great strength for the lande & a gret suerty for the prynce, and a great sparynge of the peoples charge/well appered after vppon farther reasonynge, to be the clene contrary, and of all other wayes the worste.

I wonder that some people should now talk so boldly about taking away the clergy's possessions. Bills to this effect, when proposed by the Lollards, fared as they deserved.

And to say the trouthe, mych meruayle haue I to se some folke now so myche & so boldely speke of takynge awaye any possessyons of the clergie. For all be it that onys in the tyme of the famouse prynce kyng Henry *the* fourth, aboute the tyme of a greate rumble that the here-tykes made, whan they wolde haue destroyed not the clergie onely but the kynge also and hys nobylte to/there was a folysshe byll & a false put into a parleament or twayn, and spedde as they were wurthy: yet had I neuer founden in all my tyme whyle I was conuersaunt in the courte, of all the nobylte of thys land aboue the number of seuen (of whyche seuyn there are now thre dede) that euer I perceyued to be of the mynde, that it were eyther ryght or reasonable, or could be to the realme profytable without lawful cause, to take any possessyons awaye from the clergy, whyche good and holy prynces & other deuoute vertuose people, of whome there be now many blessed sayntes in heuen, haue of deuocyon towarde god geuyn to the clergy, to serue god and praye for all chrysten soulys. And therfore as for such folk as thys pacyfyer calleth dyscrete, for theyr dyscrete inuencyon of takyng from the clergie the abundaunce of theyr possessyons / I neuer loke to se them so dyscrete, as were those men bothe dyscrete and deuoute that gaue them.

The nobility, almost to a man, are opposed to such measures.

¹ 'in' omitted '57.

The . xxiii . chapyter.

YEt putteth thys pacyfyer a thyrde kynd of thynkers suche a kynde as I neuer to my remembraunce haue herde of before / that is to wytte of suche as purposely saye euyll and openly speke heresy, and for all that thynke well. And those he sayeth are polytyke, whyche to pull awaye ryches fro the chyrche, speke agaynst all thyng that any thyng brynge into it / as agaynste prayenge for soules in purgatory, grauntyng of pardons, pylgrymages, makyng of lawes, founding of chauntries makyng of brothereheddes and many mo.

I never yet heard of men like the Pacifier's third kind, who, though orthodox, openly utter heresies, attacking those institutions that bring any income to the Church.

And though they speke agaynste all these thynges / yet he sayth they knowe well inough that all these thinges be good & maye be well vsed. But bycause they brynge ryches into the chyrch / therfore he sayth though they knowe them for good & thynke them good, yet they speke agaynst them all of polycy / not agaynst the abuses onely, but also agaynst the very thinges selfe. For of those *that* speke agaynste thabuses onely, he putteth a nother sorte bysyde these men whome he calleth for thys poynt so polytyke. And he sayeth that those that onely speke agaynste thabusys, do better and haue more grace / but yet that excludeth not ye wote well, but that the tother may be good inough, & haue grace inough to, though not so mych.

Thus hath thys pacyfyer put thre kyndes of folke that wold haue the goodys taken from the chyrche.

A summary of the Pacifier's classification of attacks upon the Church's wealth.

The fyrst, of those that wold take all and leue nothyng. And those men he sayth haue a good zeale.

The secunde, of those that wolde leue suffycient & take a waye the remanaunt. And those men haue he saith good dyscrecyon.

The thyrde kynde he calleth those, whych rather then the chyrche sholde haue any thyng, lette not to speke agaynste good thynges. And those men though they speke openly platte and playne heresy / yet he denyeth not to be wyse men & vse a good polycy.

The members of the third group, whom he calls politic, show an evil policy in their denial of purgatory.

But now where as they denye purgatory / thys is as me thynketh an euyll polycy, for wythdrawynge of offrynges fro *the* clergy, to withdraw therwyth our almyse frome the pore lay people to / and yet that wurste is of all from the sely soules them selfe, that lye there and pytuously crye in payne.

Since belief in purgatory is based upon scripture, and the contrary belief is condemned as heresy by the Church, and since the belief of men is gathered from their speech,

By this polycy ye wote wel *that* these polityke folke might impugne in generall *the* affeccion of geuyng any thyng in almyse. For that affeccyon ye wote well bryngeth in *the* yere somewhat into some parte of the clergy. And well ye wote that syth the bylyefe of purgatory and other of those thynges agaynst whyche these polytyke men so speke, be playn and open trewthis reueled by god / and the contrary bylyefe is by the hole catholyke chyrche playnely determyned for heresy / and syth men can not know that a man byleueth the trewth in his herte, yf he hold agaynste it openly wyth hys mouth / & those therfore that speke heresy, euery good man that hereth them is bounden to denounce or accuse them / and the bysshoppes are bounden vppon theyr wordes proued to put them to penaunce and reforme them / whyche yf they refuse or fall in relapse, the bysshoppe is bounde to delyuer them, and all good temporall gouernours are than bounden to punyshe them: yf euery other man dyde on all sydes the parte of a good crysten man, it appereth that the polycy of those whome thys pacyfyer calleth so politike, wolde within a while proue a pore polycy.

this 'politic' group would soon find, if every Christian did his duty, that theirs was a poor policy.

The Pacifier declares that he holds to the Catholic belief in these matters, and I do not doubt him.

How be it what mynd this pacyfyer hath hym selfe concerning these poyntes / hym selfe declareth that he byleueth *the* right waye & the trew. whych I am very gladde to here / & for my parte as helpe me god I veryly trust he fayneth not therin, but as a trew chrysten man veryly sayth as he thynketh. And yet is not euery man therin of my mynde. And therfore it wolde be wronge yf euery some say & euery some thynke, sholde serue to bryng a man in hatered or obloquy. For surely some say that they thinke, that yf some men may as he

But 'some say' that if men may, from

sayth of polycy fayne them selfe heretykes, and yet bylyue full truely for all that in theyr hertes / some one man may myche better fayne hym self for polycy full catholyke, and yet in hys herte byleue the whyle full falsely. But what so euer some men say or some men thynke, in that mater I neuer wyll thynke that a man byleueth other wyse than he sayth he doth, but yf hym selfe shold by some other wordes or dedes of hys own, declare of his mynde the contrary. And as I wyll not agaynste a mannys wordes spokenn accordyng to the ryght fayth, thinke that he byleueth wronge: surely so can I not thynke that he whyche in hys wordes openly inueyeth agaynste good and faythfull thynges, and dyspyseth trew poyntes of the comon knowen catholyke fayth, doth in hys hart secretely thynke and byleue ryghte / but yf he were amonge Paynems that wold for fere of payn compell hym to renye hys fayth, whyche were yet in that case dampnable to hys soule, and therefore is here amonge chrysten men where no suche force compelleth hym, but vppon hys perell forbedeth hym, of very good reason dampnable to hys body.

policy, feign to be heretics, more probably a man may, from policy, feign to be orthodox.

I am willing to take any man's word for his belief until other words or deeds of his prove the contrary.

And so I should believe that those who utter heresies are heretics — unless, among pagans, they spoke from fear.

The . xxiiii . chapyter.

HOwe be yt what thys good pacyfyer though he byleue ryght hym selfe and playnly protesteth the treuth of hys bylyefe, yet what he wolde sholde be done eyther with those that agaynst theyr owne wronge wordes he byleueth to byleue ryght in theyre myndes, or wyth those eyther whome he byleueth to byleue wronge in dede, I can not very well gather of his wordes here. For here he saith of them thus: 'And though some men haue mystaken them selfe in the sayde artycles / yet dyuerse other haue sayde that yf they had ben well and charytably handeled, they myght haue ben reformed, & peraduenture saued in body and in soule.'

But how this Pacifier proposes to deal either with his 'politic' group or with those whom he takes to be heretics indeed, is not clear from his next words.

Pac. — And though some men have erred in these matters, they might perhaps under more charitable treatment have been reformed and saved.

In these wordes I fynde agayn good readers a playne open declaracyon as in my mynde, that thys man by-

More. — In these words,

however, I find another declaration that he holds to the Catholic faith.

For heretics would say that these men were saved souls and holy saints,

though not in heaven. For all souls, they say, remain in some place of rest until the day of doom.

But I am sorry to see that this Pacifier, who, I persuade myself, loves and favours the clergy in his heart,

should have been so beguiled by heretics as to imply, under the wily figure of 'some say,'

leueth in these artycles lyke a trewe catholyke man. For he confesseth in these wordes, that all those that haue dyed in the contrary bylyefe, bene perysshed in body and soule. For he sayth that some men saye, that wyth good handelynge they myghte haue bene reformed, and peraduenture saued in body and soule. So that it appereth by these wordes, that neyther hym selfe thynketh, nor hath herde so myche as any other men say, but that they be now playnly loste and perysshed for those heresydes. whyche is yet an other good token that he not onely byleueth well hym self, but also talketh not myche nor hath no such conuersacyon wyth heretykes, *that* they dare well and playnely put him in full truste. For yf he were / he sholde here them vndowtedly say, that those folke be saued soulys and holy sayntes / as Baynam that was late burned sayde by Bayfelde bothe an heretyke and an apostata, that was burned about a yere before hym.

How be it though they call them saued sowles & saintes / yet wyll they say that they be not in heuyn. For there is no soule they saye / but in some place of rest they lye styll and slepe full soundely / and slepe shall they saye tyll Gabryels trumpe awake them and call them vppe erely, to ryse and recorde theyr apparence byfore our sauour at the generall daye of dome.

But in good fayth this one thyng am I sorye to se, that syth hym self semeth to me so faythfull, and that therefore I can not *persuade* vnto my self, but that in his owne harte he loueth and fauoreth the clergie / whyche no man can as I thynke hartely hate, but he that hateth also *the* fayth: some of these wyly heretyques lyke the angelys of Sathan transfigurynge them selfe into the lykenes of angelys of lyght, sholde so deceyue this good man, and so abuse hys good gentell nature and symplycyte, as to make hym wyth theyre wyly inuented figure of some say, vnder a pyty pretended toward those heretykes that are in theyr obstynacy peryshed, set his wordes in such wyse, as though his mynde were to aggreue and brynge in hatered amonge the people, the name and bodye

of the clergie / by makynge the people wene that theyr ordynaryes hadde wyth euyl and vncharytable handelyng, ben the occasyon that those heretyques are bothe in soule and bodye destroyed / syth they myght as is here sayde vnder *the* fygure of some say, by good and charytable handelyng of the clergie, haue ben better reformed, and peraduenture in soule and body saued.

wold god these same some folke that so haue sayde vnto thys pacyfyer, hadde named hym at the lest wise some one, that was so euyl and so vncharytably handled, that the lacke of better and more charytable handelynge, hath ben the losse of his bodye & soule. For then myght the clergie declare their demeanure to ward that man / and then shold they perceyue by this pacyfyer, in whych parte of theyr delynge good charytable maner lacked. But verily whome so euer they sholde haue named / I doute not but those *that* were the ordynaryes in the cause, coulede easely proue that they hadde vsed no rygour to hym agaynste the lawe, nor omytted no charitable meane vnto hym that came to theyr myndes, whyle the man lyued and the mater in theyr handes, nor in prouydyng for good exhortacyon towarde his conuersyon agayn and his saluacyon, euyn tyll the lyfe lefte hys bodye.

But nowe for as myche as some so say by *them* concerning some of theym that are gone / the clergie wolde I wene be yet gladde to here, in what wyse maner of charytable fasshyon this pytuouse pacyfyer wold haue them handle other heretyques hereafter, such as shall be denounced, and *ex officio* broughte byfore theym. For all be it *that* this pacifyer in a nother place, somewhat semeth to mysse like that order: yet I fere me there wolde as I shall after shew you, many a place in the realme swarme very full, ere euer they were brought byfore the ordynary by the meane of accusacyon.

How be yt let vs putte the sample by some one, that is lykely to be broughte and delyuered vnto the ordynarye, by the meane of the kinges grace and his counsayle. I

that the ordinaries, by their uncharitable treatment, had been responsible for the destruction of the bodies and souls of these heretics.

Would that these 'some' had specified at least one instance of such treatment.

For then the clergy might declare how they had dealt with the case.

But whoever might have been named, I doubt not that the ordinaries in the case could prove that they had used no rigour toward him contrary to the law and omitted no charitable means that occurred to them.

The clergy would be glad to hear the Pacifier's suggestions about the treatment of such heretics as may hereafter be denounced and brought before them *ex officio*.

Let us consider the case of John Frith, who is now imprisoned in the Tower,

and doubtless
will be delivered
unto the ordin-
ary.

Assuming
that the laws of
the Church are
to be obeyed
and that Frith
persists in his
heresies, how
would our Paci-
fier advise the
ordinary to deal
with him so that
as few as possible
be corrupted?

If, concerning
Frith's activities
since his impris-
onment, the
ordinary had
good proofs but
no accuser, in-
stead of the Paci-
fier, would the Paci-
fier advise him
to proceed *ex*
officio against
Frith or to let
him go?

In the former
alternative,
would the Paci-
fier advise that,
pending the trial,
the prisoner be
released either
upon parole or
with sureties, in
spite of previous
experience with
such methods,

mean Iohan Fryth. For he is in pryson in *the* towre all redy taken by the bishoppes seruantes, by the ayde of the kynges offycers at commaundement of his grace and his counsayle, and so by the kynges offycers brought into the towre where he remayneth yet / and therfore he shall I doute not be brought as I sayd, and delyuered vnto the ordynary.

Now then yf the ordynary knew this good pytuouse pacyfyer, and wolde bycause he seeth his good and charitable mynde, desyre hym of hys good aduyse and counsayle, in what wise he myght beste and moste charitably handle hym for the sauynge of hys soule and body, the lawes of Chrystes chyrch obserued, that the sauynge of hym yf he wolde stycke styffe in his obstynacy, shold not be *the* occasion of corruptynge and destroyng the soules of other men / what counsayle wolde this man geue hym?

Fyrste yf no man wolde professe him self for his accusare,¹ and yet there wold twenty be redy when they were by commaundement of the court compelled, not to lette but depose *the* trewth, that he hath synnes he came in the towre, wryten a fresshe agaynste purgatory, and a boke that he calleth the Mirrour agaynst religyouse, aduysyng euery man to geue none of them nothing though they be of that relygyon that nothing haue of their own / and twyse hath he there in lyke wyse wryten agaynste the catholyque fayth of Cryst concernynge the blessed sacrament of the aulter: whyther wolde now this pacifyer, that the ordynarye hauynge good prouys and yet none accuser, sholde procede agaynste hym *ex officio*, or ellys for lacke of an accuser lette him fayre go. If he wolde he sholde procede *ex officio* as I thinke he wolde thynke yt reason: what shold he then do, syth all can not be done in a day. whether shold he let hym walke abrode vpon his promise to appere agayn, whyche Fryth were lykely to breke and gete hym ouer see / or ellys take suertyes bounden for hys apparence, as Iohan Purser and some such other were bounden for Iohan

¹ 'accusare': accuser '57.

Byrt, and force not to forfayt theyr bonde for bretherhed, but let hym slyppe a syde and neuer brynge hym forthe, and kepe hym close among the brethern as the tother was kept, tyll *the* postle maye make some bysshoppes amonge the new brethern / & after his new Titus & Timothe stablyshed eche in his owne see, then the newe Poule thys apostle Fryth, take shippyng at Sandwych and sayle into Freselande. wold this pacifyer aduyse the ordynarye thus / or ellys to kepe hym in pryson where he sholde do no hurte, and lette the walles and the lokkes be hys suertyes for hys forthe commynge.

or that he be kept in prison?

Thus farre yet as I suppose thys pacifyer wolde aduyse the ordynary to kepe Fryth faste. But now when hys heresydes were layed vnto hys charge, as for to gyue counsaile to the ordynary to exhorte Fryth to leue theym / this pacifyer I dare say shall not nede, nor to take hym to grace neyther, nor to shewe hym great fauour vpon good tokens of hys repentaunce & amendement. But now yf he were one of thys pacifyers polytykes, and wold say that he beleued euer the right way in hys owne harte contrarye to the wordes that hys owne hande wrote / but after the maner that this pacifyer speketh he wrote all these heresydes of polycye, bycause that by the bylyefe of purgatory, and of the sacrament of the aulter, & of myracles *in* so many places so playnely shewed theron, he saw that offerynge & rychesse came into the clergie, and therfore wolde saye that he muste not be taken for an heretyke but for a man wyse & polytyke: what aduyse wold here thys pacifyer geue hys ordinary?

When Frith's heresies are laid to his charge, the Pacifier will not need to advise the ordinary to exhort him to recant or to show him favour upon sign of repentance. But now if Frith should say that he is one of the Pacifier's 'politic' persons, believing the truth in his heart, and attacking certain Catholic beliefs and institutions because they bring riches to the clergy, what would the Pacifier advise?

what counsaile wolde he geue the ordinary yf Fryth wolde make none excuse by policy, but saye that he wrote agaynste purgatory and all relygyouse orders, and the sacrament of the aulter to, for loue *that* he bereth to the trouth / & that those heresydes be very fayth, by which he wyll abyde vnto the deth. what aduyse wyll thys pacifyer geue the bysshoppe than? what good and cherytable handelynde wyll he deuyse to saue hys body & soule / specyally whan he shall se certayne letters whyche

And if Frith should maintain that his heresies are the true faith, by which he will abide unto the death, what treatment would the Pacifier devise, especially when he sees the letters which Tyndale and Joye wrote to Frith, urging him to be steadfast, and telling

him that the
hope of all the
brethren de-
pends upon him?

The Pacifier is
no more sorry
than every hon-
est person must
be to see Frith
so stubborn that
men cannot show
him the favour
that they gladly
would, without
displeasing God
and imperilling
their own and
other men's
souls.

some of the bretherne lette fall of late, and lost them of lykelyhed as some good kytte leseth her kayes / by whiche letters both Tyndale and George Iay wryte vnto Fryth, and counsayle hym to stycke faste / and Tyndale sheweth hym that all the brethern loke what shall become of hym, and that vppon hys spede hangeth all their hope. I can not tell what good and cherytable handelynge thys pacyfyer can deuyse / but I dare say that there is neyther ordynary nor other honeste man spyrytuall nor temporall, but that he is as sory as thys pacyfyer hym selfe, to se that yonge man or any other, so stobernly set in such heresies, that no man can shewe hym the fauour that euery man fayne wolde, wythout the dyspleasure of god and perell of theyr owne sowlys and many other mennys to.

The .xxv. chapyter.

Pac. — There is an almost
universal
opinion among
the people that
the clergy would
be equally glad
to silence those
who attack the
abuses of Catho-
lic institutions
and those who
attack the insti-
tutions them-
selves.

‘And vpon all these maters there is rysen a great opynyon in the people, in maner vnyuersally, that in punyshyng & correccions all these persons before rehersed sholde haue lyke punishement, yf spyritual men might haue free lyberty in that behalfe. And that spyrytuall men wold yf they coulde, as well put them to sylence, that speke agaynste the abusyon or dysorder of suche thynges as be byfore rehersed, as them that speke agaynst the thynges selfe.’

More. — Since
neither this
Pacifier nor any
one else can
name a single
heretic who was
treated other-
wise than with
charity and jus-
tice, according
to the laws of

Those wordes be not very well spoken of thys pacyfyer by the people. For yf he haue spoken wyth many mo then the tone halfe, and felt theyre opynyons hym selfe / ellys is yt not onely agaynst the spyritualty spoken very shamfully, but also to the false contruyed rebuke of the whole peple in maner vniuersally. For syth that neyther this pacyfyer nor any man ellys, can brynge forth any one of these heretyques, that haue ben by theyr ordynaryes delyuered for theyr obstinacy in the seculare handes and burned, that haue hadde any wrong done them, or ben therin otherwyse handeled then charyte

wyth iustyce, accordyng to the comen lawes of all Chrystes catholyke chyrch, and the lawes of thys realme haue requyred: there is no good man nor reasonable that hath any cause therby to conceyue by the clergie such a malycyouse folysch suspycyon, as thys pacyfyer here vntrewly layth vnto the whole people of thys realme in maner vniuersally / whan he maketh as though the hole people in maner vniuersally were so malycyouse and so folyshe, as bycause the clergie whyche hath towarde many heretykes bene ouer myche fauorable, haue of necessitye be dreuen to delyuer them to the seculare handes & therin haue done them ryghte, he maketh as though the whole people were in maner vniuersally so madde and malycyouse, as theruppon to take an opynyon that to those whych are none heretykes the clergie wold do wronge.

Surely in thys one poynt is thys boke of hys the moste indyfferent that it is in any parte that I se therin. For there is no poynte in all the booke wherin it more dyffameth the spyrytualtye, then in thys one it dyffameth in maner all the whole people vnyuersally.

the Church and of this realm, no reasonable man has any ground for such foolish suspicions of the clergy as this Pacifier falsely imputes to all the people.

And here indeed he shows his impartiality; for nowhere does he slander the clergy more than he here slanders all the laity.

But now yf he say the people in maner vnyuersally, thynke that those whyche are as he saith for lacke of good & cherytable handelynge loste and peryshed in body & soule, had wronge and oughte not haue bene by the clergie delyuered to the seculare handes / and that therefore the whole people in maner vnyuersally do and well maye, thynke in theyr myndes that the clergie wolde in lykewyse do wrong to other, and brynge to lyke punysshement all those persons that any thing speke agaynst onely the abusions of suche thyng as brynge rychesse in to the chyrche: now can not thys pacifyer thus excuse his wordes. For he confesseth in hys owne wordes, that they whyche thus haue bene loste and peryshed, that myght as he sayth wyth good and cherytable handelynge haue ben saued, be of those that haue mysse taken them self in those artycles of purgatory, trentallys, obitys, & pilgrimages, and haue as hym

He can hardly justify the alleged suspicions by maintaining that the people believe that these heretics were punished wrongfully, for his own admission is to the contrary.

When he says that, because the clergy have punished undoubtedly heretics, the people infer that they would likewise punish those who point out abuses, he is again guilty of slander.

Everyone sees that the clergy punish those who speak against the sacrament of matrimony — not those who speak against its abuses or against the men who have broken their vow of celibacy.

Even if, contrary to his own words, he will now maintain that some of those who have perished spoke only against the abuses, and if he will thus seek to justify the alleged suspicions, he will still be guilty of defaming the people; for not a single case of injustice has been proved.

selfe sayth before, spoken agaynste them and dyspysed them / and then hadde they no wronge. For I am sure there was none of them, but that he was eyther relapsed, or ellys dyd of obstynacy stand styll in them. And then appereth it yet agayne, that in goynge aboute to dyffame the clergie, he dothe in dede greatly diffame the people / whan he sayth that bycause the clergy hath punysshed them that haue so farre myssetaken them self in those articles, that they haue spoken agaynst those holy thynges & dyspysed the thynges selfe, the people wolde be so farre vnreasonable as therfore to thynke *that* they wolde punyshe in lykewyse all those *that* wolde onely speke agaynst the abuses and not agaynst the thynges. For all the people seeth perde, that the clergie punyssheth those that speke against the sacrament of matrimony / & yet they punyshe not those that speke against the abuses therof, as aduowtry / or agaynste those that vnder the name of matrimony, lyue in sacrylege and incestuose lechery / as frere Luther doth, & frere Lambert, & frere Huyskyn and Otho the monke, & suche other.

And yet yf he wyll go from his owne wordes agayn, and saye now that some of theym that be for lacke of good and charytable handelyng in body and soule so peryshed, dyd not mysse take themselfe at al, nor dyd not speke agaynst any of *the* thinges, but dyd onely speke against the abuses & that therfore he may without reproche of *the* peple well say *that* the peple haue an opinion, that the clergy wolde yf they myght, haue fre lybertye in lyke maner to punyshe all other that wolde in lyke maner speke / that is to wytte not agaynste the good & holy thynges, but agaynste the abuses of them: to this I say yet ones agayne, that he styll dyffameth the people of a great intolerable faute, that is to wyt an vniuste and vnreasonable iudgement / whyle he sayth that they thynke and byleue that the clergy hathe done to those men in so great a mater so great wronge, and hytherto not one such wrong proued.

But I shall in this poynt go yet a litle nerer hym. Sith he speketh of those that might wyth charytable handelynge haue ben in body and soule saued / yt appereth well as I haue sayde, that in thys pyece of his tale he speketh of those that haue not be saued, but in erthe here condemned and burned, and in hell dampned and there burning styll. Now as for any tyme so late byfore this brablynge or speche of any dyuysyon betwene the spyrytualty and the temporalty, that this pacifyer might seme to meane of / I remember none delyuered to the seculare handes, but syr Thomas Hytton at Maydestone, and syr Thomas Bylney at Norwyche, and one of late at Excester, & one of late in Lincolñ diocese, and in London here Bayfeld the monke, and Teuxbery the powchmaker, and Baynam. Now this wyll I say / let this pacyfyer come forthe / or yf he be any religyouse recluse that can not come abroad, let hym appere by attourney (How be yt, yt appereth that he can be none suche, but muste nedes be of lykelyhed some suche as gooth myche abroad, for ellis he coulde not surely tell vs of so many some sayes, nor what opynyon the whole people of the realme hath in manervniuersally) and therefore let hym come forth and appere in hys own proper person, byfore the kynges grace and his counsaile, or in what place he lyst, and there proue callynge me thereto, that any one of all these hadde wronge, but yf it were for *that* they were burned no soner / and bycause he shall not saye that I bydde hym trotte about for nought / thys shall I profer hym, that I wyll bynd my selfe for suerty and fynde hym other twayne bysyde of better substaunce then my selfe, that for euery one of these whom he proueth *wronged*, hys ordynary or his other offycer by whome the wronge was done, shall gyue thys pacyfyer all hys costes done aboute the profe, and a reasonable rewarde bysyde. And yet now though no man wolde gyue hym nothyng / it were hys part perde to proue it for hys owne honestye, syth he hath sayed so farre. And thys dare I be bolde to offre, to se the trouth openly

To be more specific,

I recall only seven heretics who have been delivered to the secular arm during the period to which he seems to refer.

Let this Pacifier come forward before the King's Council or elsewhere, and prove that any one of these was unjustly treated,

and I will guarantee him his costs and a reasonable reward besides.

Even without such an inducement, it would be to his credit to make the attempt.

If he succeeds in a single case, I will make no further protest against these suspicions.

But without such proof it is unreasonable to suspect that heretics are wrongfully treated by our prelates and ordinaries, upon whom full reliance is placed by the spiritual and temporal laws.

And there appears to be little reason to change these laws now, since the King has provided that the realm should have such excellent prelates and ordinaries.

But, lest the brethren again complain that my work is long, let us proceed with this chapter.

proued. After which well proued onys to be as he sayeth, men may be bolde to saye the thyng that they se proued trew / & therupon yf they lyst, to cast & suspecte some ferther fere of the lyke, yeor of wurseyf they wyl, I wyl not let them. But without any such thyng proued before / there wyll no reason nor good consyence bere it, that we shuld suspecte that our prelates and ordynaryes in theyr iudgementes agaynste heretykes, vse to do them wrong / syth all the lawes bothe spyrytuall of the whole chyrch, and temporall of this realme, haue ordayned full fayth and credence to be gyuen to them therin. whyche lawes to contrary now there appereth lytle cause, consyderynge that the kynge our souerayne lorde that now is & longe mote be, hathe in hys tyme as prudently & as vertuously prouyded for thys realme, that it sholde haue suche prelates and ordynaryes as sholde in lernynge, wysdome, iustyce, & lyuynge, be mete and conuenient therfore, as any prynce hath (*nomber for nomber*) that hath reigned ouer thys realme, I dare boldely say thys hundred yere / and sholde in my mynde kepe my selfe a great waye within my boundes, all though I wolde sette an other hundred to it. But now lettynge thys pyece passe, wherin I myght yet saye many thynges mo then I do, & wolde saue that the bretherne wolde than call me longe, and wyll yet peraduenture say that I am scant shorte inough: lett vs go ferther and spede vppe thys one chapyter of hys.

The .xxvi. chapyter.

Pac. — There are many other murmurs among the people, more than I can repeat now. But what is most to be deplored is the fact that the clergy, although aware of these conditions, do not exert themselves more to remove the causes.

‘AND many other murmurs & grudges besyde these that be before rehersed / be amonge the people, mo then I can reherse now: but yet aboue all other me thynketh that it is most to belamented and sorowed / that spyrytuall men, knowynge these grudges and murmuracyons amonge the people, and knowynge also that many lay men haue opynyon, that a great occasyon therof ryseth by spyrytuall men, and that they do no more to appease

them, ne to order them selfe in no other maner for the appeasyng of them, then they do. For all that they do therin moste commenly is this: they take yt, that they that fynde defaute at suche abusions and dysorder / loue no prestes: & therfore they esteme that they do of malyce all that they do / to destroye the chyrch, and to haue theyr goodes and possessyons theym selfe: and therfore they thynke it a good dede to se them punished, so that they shall not be able to brynge theyr malyce to effect. And therfore haue they punyshed many persons, wihch¹ mych people haue iudged them to do vpon wyl / & of no loue vnto the people. And though spyrytuall men are bounde in thys case, for appeasyng of these opynyons in the people, whyche be so daungerous as well to syrytuall² men, as to temporall men, that many soules stande in great peryll therby, not onely to reforme theym selfe, and to leue and auoyde all thynges, that gyue occasyon to the people so to offende / that may be charyte³ be omytted and lefte, but also to faste, pray, weare the heare, geue almyse, and to do other good dedes for them selfe and for the people, cryenge contynually to our lorde / that these dyuysyons may cease, and that peace and concorde may come agayne into the worlde: yet yt appereth not that they do so, but that they rather contynue styll after the olde course, pretending by confederacyes and worldely polycyes, and straye correccyons, to rule the people / and that ys greatly to be lamented, and yt wyll be harde for theym to brynge yt so aboute. But yf they wolde a lytell meken theym selfe, and wythdrawe suche thynges as haue broughte the people into thys murmur and grudge: they shold anone bryng a newlyght of grace into the worlde, and brynge the people to perfecte loue and obedyence to theyre superyours.

And here me thynketh I myght say farther in one thyng / and that is this, that as longe as spyrytuall

Instead, they usually assume that those who point out abuses are hostile to the clergy and the Church, covet their possessions, and deserve to be punished.

Though the clergy ought not only to avoid all occasion of offence,

but also to fast and pray continually that these divisions may cease,

yet they appear rather to persist in their worldly ways.

If they would humble themselves a little and avoid occasions of offence, they would bring the people into perfect love and obedyence.

As long as the spiritual rulers

¹ 'wihch': whych '57.

² 'syrytuall': spirituell '57.

³ 'be charyte': by charity '57.

claim unquestioning obedience, or pretend that there is no fault in them though they continue to live in the same worldly way, the light of grace will not appear.

rulers wyll eyther pretende / that theyr authorite is so hygh, and so immedyatly deryued of god, that the people are bounde to obaye them, and to accepte all that they do and teache / without argumentes, resystence, or grudgyng agaynste them / or that they wyll pretende, that no defeaute is in them, but in the people / and wyll yet contynue styll in the same maner, & after the same worldly contenaunce / as they do now / and haue done late tyme paste: the lyght of grace that is spoken of before, wyll not appere / but that bothe partyes shall walke in this darkenes of malyce and diuysyon / as they haue done in tyme paste.'

More.—Many of the complaints that he says he cannot now repeat he inserts in other chapters. I shall leave these unanswered, partly because every wise man will be able to answer most of them himself, partly because some things therein are very well said, and partly because I do not purpose to meddle much with the existing laws or statutes.

If I approve of them I am content to defend them; if I disapprove of them I would give my advice for the change, but I would never scatter my criticisms broadcast among the people.

Hys other murmours & grudges that he sayth he can not now reherse, he reherseth after many of theym in hys other chapyters / whyche I wyll passe ouer vntowched, bothe for that the more parte of them be such as euery wyse man wyll I suppose answeere them hym selfe in the redyng, and satysfye hys owne mynd wythout any nede of myne helpe therin / & for that some thinges are there also therin, that are very well sayed / and some also that be they good or badde, I purpose not to medyll mych wythall, as are the thynges that towche any lawes or statutes all redy made, be they of the chyrch or of the realme, defende theym I am content to do, yf I thinke them good. But on the tother syde yf I thynke them nought / albe it that in place and tyme conuenient I wolde gyue myne aduyce and counsayle to the chaunge, yet to put out bookes in wrytynge abroad amonge the people agaynste them, that wold I neyther do my selfe, nor in the so doyng commende any man that doth. For yf the lawe were suche as were so farre agaynst the law of god, that it were not possyble to stande wyth manys saluacyon / than in that case the secrete aduyce and counsayle maye bycome euery man / but the open reprofe and redargucyon therof may not in my mynd well bycome those that are no more spyrytuall than I. And surely yf the lawes maye be kepte and obserued without perel of soule though the chaunge might be to the better:

yet out of tyme and place conuenient to put the defawtes of *the* lawes abroad among the people in wrytynge, and wythoute any surety of the chaunge geue the people occasyon to haue the lawes in derysyon, vnder whyche they lyue, namely syth he *that* so shal vse to do may somtyme mysse take the mater, and thynke the thyng not good wherof the chaunge wolde be worse: that way wyll I not as thus aduysed neyther vse my selfe nor aduysen no frende of myne to do. And therefore I wyll as I saye leue some thynges of his boke vntouched, whyther he sya¹ wel or euill. And finally for *that* the towchyng of this mater is no parte of my pryncypall entent, but happeneth as an incydent to fall in my waye, wherein it suffyseth by the consyderacyon of one piece or twayne, to geue men an occasyon to loke well to the remanaunt, and let it not ouer lightly synke depe down into the brest, tyll it be well chammed & chowed in the mouth / & not onely se what he sayth, but also by the wysedome of the reder consyder what may be sayd agaynste it / and who so hath wytte and redeth it in that wyse, shall I warraunte you soone perceyue that mild indifferent boke, to bere more shrewde store of euyll stuffe therin, then the brethern that boste it wolde that such good folke sholde se, as of a good mynde menyng none harme, wene euery thyng were well ment that they se fayre set out to the shewe, and softe and smothely spoken.

Such action must be highly questionable.

Finally, since the Pacifier's treatise concerns me only incidentally, it will suffice for my purpose to show, by the examination of a few passages, that men must read it cautiously, considering what answer may be made to its insidious slander.

The .xxvii. chapyter.

I wil not also sticke mych vpon his hygh solemne dyuynacyon, wherein he prophecyeth that 'as longe as the spyrytuall rulers wyl eyther preteⁿde that theyr authority is so hygh, and so immediatly dryued fro god, that the peple are bound to obay theym, and accepte all that they teache,² wythout argument, resystence, or grudge / and that they wyll pretende that no defaute is

I will not stop long upon his solemne prophecy about the continuation of this division between the clergy and the laity.

¹ 'sya': say *c.*

² 'teache': do and teache *M.*

in theym, but wyll yet continue styl in the same maner, & the same worldely countenance as they do now and haue done in late tyme paste / the lyght of grace that is spoken of before,' be with you now & euer more amen.

The worldliness of the clergy, to which he refers here, has not a little abated within these few years. And so there is good hope that 'the light of grace' may soon dawn.

Much of the splendid apparel that many priests were forced to wear not long ago has now been discarded.

And for the rest of their state, I dare warrant that they would be glad to sacrifice the greater part of their wealth if it would do any good in this matter.

But if they made such a sacrifice, these same persons who now call them proud would then call them hypocrites.

This ende of this holy sermon is to lytle purpose. For fyrst as for wordly¹ countenance is amonge the clergy wythin these few yeres not a lytle abated. whyche thyng who so lyst wyth an euyn eye to loke vppon yt, and indyfferently consyder yt, shall not fayle to perceyue. And so there is good hope, yf that may helpe the mater, that then the lyghte of the grace that this gracouse pacifyer spake of before, is not now very farre behynd. And veryly for aught that I can se, a great part of *that*² proud and pompose appareyll that many prestes in yeres not long paste, were by the pryde and ouer syght of some few, forced in a maner against theyr own wyllys to weare, was before his godly counsaile so by this pretye prented boke pryuely geuen theym in theyr eare, myche more I trowe then the tone half spent, and in maner well worne oute. And I wote well yt is worne out with many, whyche entende herafter to bye no more suche agayn. And for the resydue of the countenance I dare be bolde to waraunt, that I can fynde of those that moste may spende, whyche were they sure that yt sholde in thys mater do any good, wold be well contente to withdraw from al theyr other countenance the chyefe parte of theyr mouables, & of theyr yerely lyuelode to, and oute of hande bestow the tone, and wyth theyr owne hand yerely bestowe the tother openly among the pore. And I durst agayne be bolde to warraunt that yf they so dyd / euyn the selfesame folke that nowe grudge and call them proude for theyr countenance, wolde then fynde as great a grudge and call theym ypocrytes for theyre almyse, and saye that they spende vppon noughtye beggers the good that was wonte to kepe good yomen, and that therby they both enfeble and also dyshonour the realme.

¹ 'wordly': worldlye '57.

² 'that': the '57.

Now as for the tother part of his prophesye, concerning that the lyght of grace that he spake of before, wyll not appere as long as spyrytuall rules¹ wyll pretende that theyr authoryte is so hyghe and so immediately deryued of god, that the people are bounden to obaye them and to accepte all that they do & teche, wyth out argumentes resistance or grudgyng agaynste theym: in thys parte he muste fyrste declare whyther he meane in thys wordes,² 'theyr authoryte', all theyr hole authoryte, or theyr authoryte in some parte. If he mene that they say thus of all theyr whole authoryte in euery thyng that they maye now at this tyme lawfully do or saye: I answer that they neither *pretende* nor neuer dyd, all that authoryte to be gyuen them immediatly by god / but haue autorite now to do dyuerse thynges by the graunte of kynges & prynces, as haue also many temporall men / & by those grauntes haue such right in those as temporall men haue by the like grauntes in theirs. And therfore in that part the pacyfyer is answered.

And than yf he meane that the lyght of hys grace that he spake of byfore, wyll not appere as longe as the prelates pretende *that* any parte of theyr authoryte is so hyghe that it is immediatly gyuen them of god / then hath thys pacyfyer loste the lyght of treuth. For the greatest, and highest, and most excellent authoryte that they haue, eyther god hath gyuen them, hym selfe or ellys they be very presumptuose & vsurpe many thynges farre aboue all good reason. For I haue neuer redde, or at the leste wyse I remember not that I haue redde, *that* euer any kyng graunted them the authoryte, that now not onely prelates but other pore playne prestes also dayly do take vpon them, in mynistryng the sacramentes and consecratyng the blessed body of Cryste, wyth dyuerse other authorytees besyde

But it semeth to hym peradventure, that in one poynte at the leste wyse *the* spyrytualty ys to prowde. For he saythe they pretende to be obayed, & haue theyr

As to their pretence that their authority is immediately derived from God, the Pacifier must first declare whether he means their whole authority or some part of it.

They have never pretended that *all* the authority which they now lawfully possess is derived from God; for part of it was granted to them by kings.

But if he means that 'the light of grace' will not dawn so long as they pretend that *any* part of their authority is derived from God, then has this Pacifier lost the light of truth.

For I do not remember reading that any king ever granted the authority that even poor priests exercise in administering the sacraments.

But the Pacifier finds the clergy too proud in that they claim *unquestioning* obedience.

¹ 'rules': rulers '57.

² 'wordes': worde '57.

Surely in such things as the whole clergy of Christendom orders, as, for example, some of the laws against heretics, which this Pacifier finds very hard, I doubt not that God's guidance is present according to Christ's promise; and men ought to accept these things without resistance or argument.

Good men at least ought not to give ear to the complaints of the bad against such provision as their spiritual rulers may make for the weal of their souls.

Not only did the apostles, assembled in Jerusalem, promulgate laws, with full authority, for the converted gentiles of various countries, but also Saint Paul gave the Corinthians certain orders for their service to safeguard it against meddlers, and with authority commanded

ordynaunces and theyr teachynges obserued, without resystence grudge or argumentes to the contrary. Surely in suche thynges as the whole clergy of chrystendome techeth and ordereth in spyrytuall thynges, as be dyuerse of those lawes whyche thys pacyfyer in some places of this boke toucheth, beyng made agaynst heretikes / and albe it that they be and longe haue bene thorow the whole corps of chrystendome bothe temporalty and spyrytualty, by longe vsage and custome ratyfyed agreed and confyrmed, yet he layeth some lacke in them callynge theym very sore / in those thynges I saye, that syth I no thyng dowte in my mynde / but in that congregacion to goddys honour gracyously gathered together, the good assystence of the spyryte of god is accordynge to Crystes promyse as verly present & assystente as it was with his blessed apostles, men ought wyth reuerence & wyth out resystence, grudge, or argumentes to receyue theym. And yf a prouyncyall counsaile erre / there are in Cristes chyrche ordynary wayes to reforme it. But in suche thynges as any spyrytuall gouernours after a lawfull order & forme, deuyse for the spyrytuall weale of theyr sowles that are in theyr charge, and whyche thynges are suche as good folke maye soone perceyue them for good / in these thynges at the lest wyse shold the good not geue eare to the bad folke and frowarde, that agaynste the beste thyng that can be deuysed can neuer lacke a fonde frowarde argument. And therfore not onely thapostles beyng dyuerse, assembled togyther wyth the chyrch in theyr counsaile holden at Hierusalem, dyd in those lawes that they there deuised and prouulged¹ amonge the gentyls that were in dyuers countrees farre of conuerted vnto Cryste, dyd wyth authoryte wryte vnto them, these thinges haue semed both to vs and to the spyryte of god necessary for you to kepe, leste some stoborne folys wolde peraduenture be bolde wyth frowarde argumentes and reasonynge to resyste it / but saynt Poule also by hym selfe whan he deuysed vnto the

¹ ' prouulged': promulged *M*.

Corinthyen certayn good lawes and orders concernynge theyr order that he wolde haue them kepe in the chyrche in tyme of goddes seruyce, leste such as wold fayne wyth dysputynge agaynste good order, be taken and reputed for wyse, sholde wyth some propleme¹ pulled out of a peny pycher, enueigle and corrupte the company, whom farre the febler reason maye drawe to the wurse parte for affeccyon vnto lewd lyberty: he fynally bysyde the reasons that he layed for hys law, dyd putte them to sylence wyth his authoryte / and forbydynge them to reason or dyspute there agaynste but obaye it sayed, agaynste all suche argumentes and such choppelogiques agaynste good rulys, yf any man wyll be contencyouse in thys mater, lette hym well knowe that we haue no suche guyse or custome, nor *the* chyrches of god.

But now wyll thys pacyfyer peraduenture, say that he neyther speketh nor meaneth of suche thynges as the spyrytualtye doth or sayth that ys good / but that the lyghte of grace wyll not appere 'as longe as the prelates pretende that theyr autorite is so hygh & so immediate of god, that the people are bounde to obaye them, and to accept all that they do and teche / with out argumentes, resistance, or grudgyng' / so that he hath cyrcumspectly for the nones qualyfied and modered his tale wyth thys worde 'all', that the prelates shold not pretende to be obayed in thynges as well badde as good. who herde euer the prelates of this realme pretende thys? that they sholde be obayed in all thynges were the thynges bad or good? I am very sure that euer hytherto they haue professed the contrarye / and not letted to say, that yf euer any prelate of thys realme, ye or the moste parte of theym, ye or the whole mayny were so farre fallen fro god, as to preache the contrary of our olde known catholyque fayth / as for ensample that there were no purgatory after thys worlde, or that yt were not lawfull to praye to our blessed lady or other holy saynts, or to preche that there is yet neuer a saynt in heuen, but that all

them not to dispute about these orders, but to obey them.

But perhaps the Pacifier will emphasize his word 'all', and say

that the prelates should not pretend to be obeyed in bad as well as in good things. Who ever heard our prelates pretend this? I am very sure that hitherto they have professed the opposite and have said that if any prelates preached anything contrary to the known Catholic faith, as, for example, the current heresies,

¹ 'propleme': probleme *M*.

no layman
should believe
them.

soules lye styll & slepe, or to preache agaynst penaunce as Tyndale dothe, that is as lothe good tender pernell to take a litle penaunce of the preste, as the lady was to come any more to dyspelynge that wepte euyn for tender herte two days after when she talked of yt, that the prest hadde on good frydaye wyth the dyspelynge rodde beten her hard vpon her lyly whyte handes: who so wolde I say preche any of these heresyas, or that in the blessed sacrament of the auter were not the very body and very blood of Crist, but as Fryth teacheth nothyng but wyne and brede, or elles as Tyndale iesteth starch in stede of brede / though there wolde hereafter (whyche shall I trust neuer happen) all the prelates in this realme fall therto & preache the same, yet all the prelates hytherto playnly do preache and teach that no laye man sholde then byleue them.

The worth of
his argument
will be shown
plainly if it is
stated as fol-
lows: The light
of grace will
never appear so
long as the pre-
lates do the
thing that they
have never yet
done.

And therefore lyke as yf the prelates dyd pretende the thyng that this pacyfyer speketh of, then were his afore-sayd wordes well and wisely tempered and cyrcum-spectly spoken / so whyle they neyther pretende that thyng now, nor neuer here before dyd, there is litle wytte in those wordes. For now doth all his tale amount vnto no more, but that the lyght of grace wyll neuer appere, as long as the prelates do the thyng that they neyther do nor neuer dyd. Is not thys therfore good readers by this good pacyfyer brought vnto a wyse conclusyon?

The . xxviii . chapyter.

The Pacifier
especially re-
grets that the
clergy do not
exert them-
selves more to
appease these
grudges, and
urges them not
only to abstain
from uncharit-
able treatment
of heretics, of
which he has
given no proof,
but also to give
alms, wear hair,
fast, and pray,
that the division

NOW where he moste lamenteth that the clergie dothe no more to appease these grudges of the temporalte towarde them, and after he preacheth to them holyly what thynges they sholde do that they do not, that is to wyt, forbere such thynges as he spake of byfore / wherby he specyally meaneth as bothe before and in dyuerse places after appereth, the euyll & vncharytable handelyng of heretyques, wherof the man hath nothing proued / but also that they shold do thynges whyche he sayth men se them not do, that is to saye geue almyse, and

were heare, and fast, and pray, that this dyuysyon may cease: now *that* all the spyrytual men do not so, that is very trewe. And yt is as trewe I trow that this thousande yere was neuer the tyme that all so dyd. And therfore yf that thyng cause and kepe in this dyuysyon, yt muste haue ben a thyng of a thousande yere olde. But I thynke that many of them do all these thynges whyche this pacyfyer precheth to haue done. For I am sure that though some do not theyr part therin / yet amonge *the* spirituality ther is both geuing of grete almyse, & wearynge of heare, and fastyng, & prayenge for peace. But whether they take this dyuysyon to be so great and so vnyuersall as this pacyfyer speketh of, that can I not tell, and peraduenture they do not. And whether they do or no / surely I do not. Nor whyther they praye for the pacyfycacyon of thys dyuysyon in all suche maner wyse as the thyng requyreth, that I can not tell / but there may be peraduenture therin some ouer syght vppon theyr part. For if they leue nothing vnprayed for that maye perteyne to *the* pacificacyon of thys dyuysyon, then must they peraduenture put into theyr seruyce both matens, masse, and euynsonge, some specyall collect, and therin pray god that yt may please hym that the peple maye perceyue the sotle sleightes of the deuyll & some other of hys lymes, in many partes of this boke of this pacyfycacyon / whyche thynges peraduenture the compyler perceyued not hym selfe, but was therin of symplycyte by some sotle shrewe deceyued.

may cease. If it is now true that not all the clergy do these things, it has also been true these thousand years; hence the condition will not serve to account for this recent division.

Though some be remiss, I am sure there is among the clergy great alms-giving, and wearing of hair, and fasting, and praying for peace.

(If they do not omit from their prayers any cause of this division, they must insert special petitions that men may perceive the subtle tricks of the devil in many parts of the Pacifier's book.)

The .xxix. chapyter.

BUt this pacyfyer perceyuyng that what one man doth in secretenesse, a nother can not se / is therfore bolde to saye they do not all those thynges which he wold haue theym do / that is wytte,¹ faste, & pray, were heare, and geue almyse. For he sayth 'that they do all these thynges yt appereth not.'

This Pacifier, perceiving that we cannot see what a man does in secret, is so bold as to say that it does not appear that they do all these things.

¹ 'is wytte,': is to wytte, *M*.

But surely it does appear that they pray, and with such diligence as to put us laymen to shame.

As for prayenge, yt appereth perdye they do. And that so myche they dayly pray, as some of vs lay men thynke yt a payne ones in a weke to rise so sone fro slepe, and some to tarye so longe fastynge as on the sonday to come and here oute theyr matens. And yet is not the matens in euery paryshe neyther, all thyng so erly begonne nor fully so long in doynge, as yt is in the chartrehouse ye wote well. And yet at our slouth and glotony that are lay people, this pacyfyer can wynke & fayne hym selfe a slepe. But that the clergye prayeth not, that can he shortely spye, as sone as theyr lyppes leue styrynge.

Perhaps the Pacifier himself is of the clergy, and emphasizes their faults to avoid the appearance of partiality; but even so, he ought not to exaggerate them.

Howe be yt bycause he is peraduenture of the clergye hym selfe / therfore leste he sholde seme parcyall to hys owne parte, he rather speketh of theyre defautes then oures: wherin I wyll not myche stryue wyth hym. But surely as he may be bolde to preache beyng a prest / so yf I were a preste to, I wolde be bolde to preche thus mych agayne to hym, that for any wynnyng of the glosse and fame of indifferency, though he leue *the* fautes of vs lay peple vntoucheth,¹ yet of his owne parte the clergye, for no laye mennys pleasure he neuer sholde say more then treuth.

In answer to his complaint that it does not appear that they give alms I might cite the counsel of Christ;

as also, with regard to their praying, I might have cited another similar passage.

But for all that counsel, God is content that men should both pray and give alms openly if they do not do these things for vainglory.

For nowe as towchyng of almoyses / is there none geuyn troweth he by the spyrytualtye? If he saye as he sayeth here, that it appereth not *that* they do gyue almoyses / I myghte answeere agayne that they folow therein the counsaile of Cryst, whyche sayth lette not thy lefte hande se what thy ryghte hande doth / as I myght in prayeng haue layed those other wordes of Cryst, Thou whan thou wylt praye entre into thy chamber & shette the dore, and pray to thy father priuely. But like wyse as god for all that counsaile was content that men sholde bothe praye and gyue to the nedy, and do other wurkes bothe of penaunce and of cheryte, openly abroad in company where there be no desire of vayn glory, but *that* the people by the syghte therof, may haue occasyon to

¹ 'vntoucheth': vntouched '57.

gyue therfore laude and glory to god: so dare I boldly say that as they both secretly and openly to, do vse & accustome to pray so do they both secretly and openly to, gyue no lytell almyse *in* the yere what so euer thys pacyfyer say. And I somewhat meruayle that syth thys pacyfyer goth so bysyly abrode, *that* there is no Some saye any where all most in all the whole realme, but that he hereth it and can reherse it / I meruayle I saye not a lytell that he neyther seeth nor hereth any some saye, that there is in the spyrytualty gyuen any thyng in almyse. I vse not myche my selfe to go very farre abrode, and yet I here some say that there is / and I se somtyme my selfe so many poore folke at westmynster at the dolys, of whome as farre as euer I harde, the munkes vse not to sende away many vnserued, that my self for the preace of them haue ben fayn to ryde another waye.

And the clergy do give alms, even as they pray, both secretly and openly.

I wonder that this Pacifier, who goes about so much that he can report the some-says of the whole realm, neither sees nor hears of their alms-giving;

for I myself, though I travel little, both hear of it and witness it.

But one answered me to thys onys, and sayed that it was no thanke to them / for it was landes that good prynces haue gyuen them. But as I than tolde hym agayne / it were than myche lesse thanke to them, that wold now gyue good prynces euill counsaile for to take it fro them.

The relation of their alms-giving to the lands that they hold.

And also yf we call it no gyuyng of almyse by them, bycause *the* landes whereof they gyue it, other good men haue gyuen them / wherof wyl you haue them gyue almyse, for they haue none other.

The . xxx . chaptyer.

A Nother thyng also whych thys pacyfyer semeth to dispraise vnder the name of proude worldely countenance / yf men were as redy in a dede of hys owne nature indifferent, to construe *the* mynd and entent of the doer to the better part, as they be of their owne inwarde goodnes to construe & report it to the worse / than myghte I saye that the same thyng whych they call the prowde worldely countenance, they myghte & wolde

If men were less ready to interpret actions unfavourably, another practice of the clergy, which the Pacifier seems to dispraise, would be attributed, not to pride, but to charity.

I refer to their practice of bringing up temporal men in their service.

call a ful cherytable almoyses / that is to wytte the ryghte honest fyndyng & good bryngyng vpon of so many temporall men in their seruyce / whiche though they be no beggers, yet myghte peradventure the greates parte of them go begge if they founde them not, but sent them abrode to seke them selfe a seruyce.

When you give a poor man money and yet require him to work in your garden lest he be encouraged in idleness by your alms, his labour takes away nothing of the merit of your deed. And so it is with this practice of the clergy. The greatest charity is to provide that such charges be well brought up. And in such provision the clergy surpass us.

And lyke as yf you wolde giue a pore man some money bycause he nedeth, and yet wolde make hym worke therfore in your gardayne, lest he sholde by your almoyses lyue idell and waxe a loyterer, the labour that he dothe taketh not away the nature & meryte of your almoyses: no more it maketh the fyndyng of seruantes none almoyses, though they wayte on the fynder and do hym seruyce in hys house. And of all almoyses the chiefe is, to se theym well broughte vpon, and well and honestly guyded. In whyche poynte though neyther parte do full theyr dutye / yet I suppose in good fayth, that the spyrytualty goth in that poynt which is no small almoyses, rather somewhat afore vs then any thyng dragge behynde vs.

The . xxxi . chapyter.

With regard to the fasting of the clergy

Then foloweth there fastyng / whiche thynges the spyrytualty doth as I suppose, all suche as kepe styll the olde chrysten fayth, and fall not vnto these newe heresyas.

the Pacifier repeats Gerson's complaint that the clergy keep a shorter lent than was ordained by law.

But this pacifyer fyndeth a faute, and reherseth oute of Iohan Gerson, that the clergy kepeth not nowe the lawe by whyche it was ordeyned that the clergy sholde kepe a lenger lent then they now do. And wolde god as saynte Poule sayth, that both they and we coulde and wold euery daye. But this pacifyer that is so well sene in the lawes of the chyrche, seeth well ynough that the vnyuersall custome to the contrary, dischargeth the bonde of that lawe, though peradventure yt dyscharged not them that fyrst began the breche wherby the custome grewe. For as for fastyng / the custome of the cuntrey may eyther to the bonde or to the dyscharge and interpre-

But the universal custom to the contrary now discharges the bond of that law,

tacyon of the lawes made therfore, the custome I saye maye do myche, as saynte Austayne sheweth in mo places then one. For yf it were otherwyse / then fasted almoste no man any fast at all at this daye whyle we dyne at none. For the very faste was of olde, as both by the scrypture and holy wryters appereth, to forbere theyr meale tyll nyght / whyche ys as ye se all chaunged. And the chyrche to condescende vnto our infyrmyte, hath be fayne therfore to say in lent theyre euyn songe byfore none / and bysyde the naturall dayes, to deuyse vs new dayes *ex fictione iuris*, that we shold at the lest haue euyn-songe in the lenton faste byfore we fall to meate. And yet we kepe not that neyther. But as an Almayne of myne acquayntaunce, when I blamed hym lately for not fastyng vpon a certayne day, answered me, Fare to sould te laye men fasten, let te prester fasten: so we begynne god wote to faste full lytle for our owne parte / but byd the prester go fasten. And where our selfe wold for our owne parte be fayn that the lent were two wekes lesse: yet wold we that for the clergie the lent were one weke lenger. But some of them tosse yt fro them selfe as faste, and sende yt to the freres. And veryly relygyouse folke vse I trow both longe lentes and aduent to, & some of theym dyuerse other fastes besyde / and they be perdye a great parte of the spyrytualtye.

as Saint Augustine shows. Otherwise there would be little fasting at present, when we dine at noon. The true fast of old was to forbear food till night.

But the Church has been willing to make some concessions in these matters to our infirmity.

Even with these concessions we laymen are remiss; but, like a German acquaintance of mine,

we bid the clergy to fast the more rigorously.

Certainly the religious, who constitute a large part of the clergy, observe the longer fasts.

The .xxxii. chaptyer.

Then preacheth this pacifyer yet farther, that the clergie shold were heare. He is surely somewhat sore, yf he bynde them all thereto / but amonge theym I thynke that many do all redy / and some whole relygyon doth. But yet sayth this pacifyer, that yt doth not appere that they do so. Ah well sayde. But now yf al the lacke stand in that poynt, that suche holynes is hydde, so that men may not se yt / yt shall be from hens forth well done for theym, and so they wyll do yf they be wyse, vpon this aduertysement and prechyng of this good

The Pacifier is somewhat strict if he binds all the clergy to wear hair; but many of them, and some entire religious orders, do so. Yet he says it does not appear that they do. If that is all that is wanting, they will do well to wear their hair shirts outside their cowls.

In this
method there
would be nei-
ther hypocrisy
nor discomfort.

pacyfyer, come oute of theyre cloysters euery man into the market place, and there knele downe in the kanell and make theyr prayours in the open stretes, & were theyre shyrtes of heare in syght vppon theyr coulys / and then shall yt appere, and men shall se yt. And surely for theyr shyrtes of heare in thys waye were there none ypcrysye / and yet were there also good polycye, for then sholde yt not pryck them.

The . xxxiii . chapyter.

Perhaps the
clergy will take
this Pacifier's
preaching in
good part.

BUt as for all this pacyfyers preachynge, the spyrytualty may be contente to take in good worth. For peraduentur if he were knowen, he were such one as to preche to all the spyrtualtye myghte well become hys personage / and yet yf he be but a symple person in dede, yet the spyrytualty may meken them selfe accordynge to his good counsaile, and admyt his holosome admonycyons. But surely this one thyng, though the spyrytualtye bere yt and take yt well in worth / me thynketh yet that euery good temporal man may very mych misse lyke, that this pacyfyer in the begynnynge of this his holy preachynge, preacheth vppon them to theyre sore slaunder / fyrst with an vntrew surmyse grounded vppon ymagynacyon, & after wyth a very playn open lye / neyther an ydle lye nor of any good purpose (of whyche two kyndes of lyeng saynt Austayn admytteth neyther nother, in folke of *the* perfeccyon that this pacyfyer by his preachynge vsed with such authoryte towarde all the spyrytualtye, sholde seme to be) but a lye very pernycouse, whyche is one of the thynges *that* leste can become any good crysten man.

But surely
every good tem-
poral man will
dislike his slan-
der of the laity,
first, with a false
surmise based
upon imagina-
tion, and then
with an open and
pernicious lie.

His statement
about what the
clergy do to ap-
pease the people

For fyrste hy sayth, 'that all that the spyrytualty doth to the appeasyng of the people is moste comenly this, that they take yt that they that fynde defaute at abusyons and dysorder of the spyritualtye, loue no prestes / & therfore they esteme that they do yt of malyce all that they do, to destroye the chyrche.'

Thys is a goodly false surmyse, grounded as I sayed vppon a cherytable imaginacion. But for all this, though good temporall men be euyll content wyth suche as are in the spyrytualty nought, with whome the good folke of the spyrytualtye be as euyll content as they: yet I verily truste for all thys as I saye, that not the temporaltye nor any one good temporal man, is for them that are nought amonge the spyrytualtye, so dyspleased & angry agaynste the spyrytualtye, that is to wytte agaynst the corps and body therof, that they sholde greatly nede to be appeased / nor do not laye the fawtes of noughty spyrytuall persons, to the rebuke of the hole spyrytualtye / no more then they wolde thynke it reason, that *the* straungers of other realmes so sholde laye the fawtes of euyll temporall folke here to the rebuke of the whole temporaltye, *that* they shold grudge and saye shrewdely by vs for them.

Now yf this pacyfyer wyll saye that it is not lyke / & wyll saye that we be not sewtely *the* temporaltye and spyrytualty of this realme / but that we be mych better for our part then the spyrytualty be for theirs: the temporaltye shall not be disprayed for me. For I trust that though in respecte of the goodnes that goddes benefytes vnto man requyreth of men agayne / and in respecte of the constaunce and perseueraunce in vertue that men sholde holde faste and kepe, there are fewe or none good in neyther nother parte: yet in such kynde of goodnes as the frayltye of our nature suffreth in thys worlde, now vp now downe, now fallynge by synne & now rysynge agayne by grace, the temporaltye is good I truste and the spyrytualtye both, for all that there lacketh not a sorte of some suche as are very desperate deuilysshe wrechis in bothe / as no man dwteth but there was a very good chyrche of Cryste in hys blessed apostles dayes, & yet were there euyn than many full very nought & starke heretykes to therin.

And as for the dyfference in goodnes bytween them and vs, god knoweth the better & the wurse bothe. But straungers of other countreys that come hyther and se

is a false surmise based upon imagination.

I trust that the laity are not so angry because of the wickedness of some members of the clergy that they need greatly to be appeased in their feelings toward the entire body. For they would think it unreasonable if foreigners condemned all our laity for the faults of evil laymen.

If the Pacifier say that the laity of this realm are better for their part than the clergy are for theirs, I will not dispraise the laity.

None in either body are perfect.

Yet so far as the frailty of our nature suffers, both bodies are good, though both contain some very wicked members, as indeed the church of Christ did even in the days of the apostles.

What difference in goodness may be between them God knows. But strangers

from other countries who have come here, after comparing our clergy with theirs and with our laity, have said that our clergy may, without any special reproach, show their faces among other folk.

So I see no reason why our laity should be so indignant with the whole clergy; and I do not believe that his assertion is true or that it is honourable for this realm that others should think it true.

But I pray God that some of the clergy have not tried too much to appease the heretics, whom they take to be the cause of all their difficulties. If, for fear of such slander as this Pacifier repeats, they should be remiss in prosecuting heretics,

and grow faint-hearted in God's great cause of maintaining the faith, God will punish them more severely

by sending upon them the condemnation of all good men.

bothe (sauynge some that haue come bothe oute of Fraunce and Flaunders, and haue here be putte in trouble by the spyrytualty for bryngyng in of Luthers gospel) other straungers ellys I saye whan they haue considered *the* spiritualty of this realme, & compared them in their myndes not onely wyth the temporaltye of the same, but also wyth the spyrytualtye of theyr owne countreys, haue said that oure spyrytualtye maye wythout any specyall reproche, shewe theyr facys among other folke. And therfore that the whole body of *the* spyrytualltye of thys realme is so farre fallen in the grudge and indygnacyon of the hole temporaltye as thys pacyfyer speketh / I neyther se cause why it sholde so, nor yet byleue that it is so; nor thinke it eyther good or honorable for thys realme that other realmes shold wene it were so

But where as thys pacyfyer speketh of appeasyng: I pray god that some of the spyrytualtye haue not in some thynges gone aboute ouer myche to appease that sort of peple, by whose meanys they haue thought that all their disease hath come / those folke I saye of whome by good informacyon they haue had detected vnto theym for very starke heretikes in dede / whom yf for any fere of suche other folkes false suspycyon spryngynge vppon suche slaunderouse lyes as thys pacyfyer speketh of, and groundeth hys conclusyons vpon, the clergy begynne to spare / and for any suche causes begyn to slake, and be the more remisse in the callynge, attachyng, and examynyng, and of the ferther orderynge of heretykes, god wyll not fayle to make fall in theyr neckes the dowble slaunder of that from whyche they fle. For whan they waxe so faynt harted in hys greate cause of repressynge of heresydes and maynteynyng of hys fayth, that they forbere theyr dewty for fere of false slaunderouse wordes / god wyll than make them fall in to the more slaunder, by the selfe same meanys by whiche they fle fro the lesse. For in stede of the false slaunder of euyll men and heretikes that they fere in the pursewynge / god wyll sende them a trewe slaunder, and make theym be dyffamed amonge

good men & catholykes, for theyr slacke and remysse handelyng. And further yf they fall into *the* foly that the prophete reproueth, and ceace to call vppon god for strength, and then tremble for drede where there is no perell, and for any drede of men whych yf they not onely wold slaunder them, but bete them and kyll them to, can yet kyll but the body and than haue spette all theyr poysen, wolde forgete the fere: god (whiche whan he hath slayne the body maye sende *the* soule into euerlastynge fyre) yf (whych oure lorde forbede) any bysshoppe fall in thys fere & cowardyse of faynt harte, that for any worldly fere they suffer to be blownen out the lyghte of hys lanterne of fayth, he wyll not fayle to make fall vpon them the terryble commynacyon & thrette that the spyryt speketh of in the Apocalyps vnto the byshoppe of Ephesye, I wyll come and remoue thy candelstycke oute of his place.

If they cease to call upon God for strength and begin to tremble for fear of men, who at most can but kill the body,

God will not fail to execute upon them the terrible commination that was spoken against the Bishop of Ephesus.

The . xxxiiii . chapter.

NOW where this pacyfyer here surmyseth, *that* the spyrytualtye dothe moste communely nothyng ellis, but malycyously mysconstre the myndes, and therfore malycyously persecute and pursew the bodies of all them *that* fynd defaute at theyr dysorder and abusyons: *the* vntrewth of this surmyse well and playne appereth, by this that euery man dayly hereth, that there is not in all the clergie any man that vseth to preache the worde of god, but that as he toucheth the fautes of the temporalty, suche as he seeth in that audyence metely to be spoken of/so toucheth he in lyke wyse the fautes of the spyrytualty/& is for his so doynge not hated of the spyrytualty, no more then of the temporaltye, but well commended of both. But of trouth, he *that* wold eyther vppon the spyrytualty alone, or vppon the temporaltye alone, or vppon any one parte of eyther the tone or the tother, as of onely kynges, or onely dukes, or onely lordes, or onely gentylmen, or onely men of law, or onely marchauentes, make his whole sermon, when *that*

The statement that the clergy commonly do nothing but maliciously misjudge and persecute those that complain of abuses is untrue, as appears from the fact that when they preach upon the faults of the laity, they are accustomed likewise to touch upon their own faults, and are commended by both parties for doing so.

Indeed it would be a poor policy for any preacher to confine his criticisms to a single class unless that class made up his entire audience.

The method would be far worse if he pretended that the rest of his audience were already indignant with those whom he rebuked, and that he wished to make peace between them. He might as well try to put out a fire with faggots and gunpowder.

one part onely were not his whole audyence / and wolde by that parte amonge all folke saye many shrewed thynges by maner of exhortacyon to thame~~nd~~dyng: though euyll folke and malycyouse wolde haue a pleasure to here yt, yet wolde no good folke & indyferent thynke that he dyd well / and specyally yf he wold vse that maner, where hym selfe pretended that all the remanaunte of hys audyence were in grudge and diuysyon al redy agaynst that one part / whose fautes and vyces all his whole sermon holyly putteth in all the peoples earys to mytygate theyre hatered wyth / and wyth suche preachynge so to make the peace in lyke maner wyse, as yf he fownde a corner of hys neyghbours house burnyng, he wolde of great loue & polycye lay on fagottes and gunpowder to put out the fyre.

The . xxxv . chapyter.

The Pacifier's next words, about the punishment that the clergy have inflicted upon their critics, are as malicious as any slanderer could devise.

NOW where thys pacyfyer vppon that mysse ymagyned surmyse, goth on farther & sayth, that bycause the clergie so mysse constreweth the myndes of all those *that* fynde faute at theyr mysse order and abusyons, 'therfore they thynke yt a good dede to se theym punysshed, & they haue therfore punysshed many persons, whyche myche people haue iudged them to do vppon wyll and not of no¹ loue to the people': in these wordes how charytably this pacyfyer ment I can not tell / but eyther by malyce or ouersyght, eyther by defaute of hym selfe or crafte of some sotle shrewe, these wordes are as euyll and as malyciously wryten, as any one *that* wold fayne falsely dyffame the clergy could ymagyne or deuyse.

For what could be worse than his assertion that the clergy not only have wrongfully persecuted these men, but also justify their persecution?

For here he sayth that bycause they haue (as hym selfe bereth them in hande) conceyued a false suspicyon agaynst all those that fynde faute at theyr mysseorder and abusyons / therfore they not onely haue persecuted and punysshed many persones, but also thynke theyr wronge full persecucyon and vnryghtuouse punyshe-

¹ 'no' omitted' 57.

ment well done. what can be worse done then thys? and therfore as this doynge were the worst that could be, yf yt were trew/so is this sayenge the very worste that can be syth yt ys very false.

This accusation is as false as the alleged actions would be evil.

And in these wordes the figure of some say wyll not wel serue hym / and yet in yt cometh here also myche augmented and increased, in that he sayth not that some men so say, but that myche people so iudgeth. How be yt as I sayd thys fygyure wyll not serue hym here. But he playeth like a wyly thefe, that bycause he wolde not be knowen wolde were a vysour / and yet forgetyng hym selfe, wolde fyrste come forth bare faced / & when euery may¹ had sene hym and marked hym well, wold then put on his vysour a pace, and couer hys vysage to walke away vnknown. Euyng thus wysely lo playeth this pacyfyer here. For fyrste he sayth as of hym selfe, that the clergie hath punyshed many persons therfore / that is to wytte for the euyl and false susspycyon that they haue conceyued agaynste all those *that* fynde faute in theyr misseorder and abusyons. And when he hath thus sayde as of hym selfe, & therby well shewed hym selfe / then to couer and coloure yt wyth, he sayth that mych people iudgeth so. And therfore his whole tale amounteth vnto no more, but that hym selfe fyrste affermeth yt, and after confermeth his affermacyon by the pretence that myche people iudgeth the same / of whyche myche people he nameth yet neuer one, nor proueth that myche people so doth, nor sheweth cause wherfore eyther myche people or lytle people, or any one person so sholde / but bryngeth forth a bare surmyse in suche wyse ymagyned agaynste the clergie, as euery man that lyst to lye, may sone ymagyne in some other mater agaynste any temporall men.

And here the some-say device, though he has intensified it, will not serve him.

He is like a thief who, forgetting himself for a moment, allows men to see his face before he puts on his mask.

For, first, he says on his own authority that the clergy have punished many persons upon these false suspicions; and then he adds that 'much people have judged them to do' so.

He specifies no one and proves nothing.

But as for his myche people I sette not myche by. For mych people maye somtyme byleue some one mannys lye. And agaynst his mych peple, yf there were myche of them that so iudge before the profe and fishe

I do not set much by his 'much people'. Though many may believe one man's lie, I do not believe that

there are many who think as he says. But there are many wiser persons who, when they hear such unproved assertions, will either suspend judgment or reject them as slander.

before the nette, and set the carte before the horse, as I wene there is not: yet is there agaynst them myche other peple more wyse in that poynt, and more cyrcumspecte, whyche tyll they se suche an euyll tale proued trewe, wyll eyther of indyfferencye kepe them selfe in a stay, & suspend their sentence for the season, or ellys of a good mynde rather for the whyle thynke and byleue the contrary.

So, letting his 'much people' pass, I demand the proof of his statement that the clergy have punished many persons who, because they attacked clerical corruption, were unjustly suspected by the clergy of being hostile to them and of having designs upon their possessions.

Lettynge therfore for this tyme hys mych people passe / I wolde now demaunde of hym how he proueth thys abominable fawte that he layeth here to the spyrytualtye hym selfe / where he sayeth playnely *that* they haue punysshed many persons therfore, that is to wytte for the thyng that he there hath rehersed / which is ye wote wel, bycause they haue he sayth conceyued a false suspycyon agaynste them, for fyndyng defaute at theyr mysseorder and abusions, and take it as though they loued not the clergy, but of malyce wolde destroye the chyrche & haue theyr goodes and possessyons them selfe. Now yf the clergy haue therfore punysshed many persons, bycause the same persons haue onely spoken agaynste theyr mysseorder and abusions / & that the clergy haue therfore mysse construed theyr myndes, & imagyned that they wolde destroye the clergy for theyr possessyons, whych those other folke that spake against theyr mysseorder went about with those wordes to gete fro the clergie to theym selfe: yf the clergie dyd I saye for thys cause of theyr own false imagyned suspycyon, punysshe those many persons that this pacyfyer speketh of, what thyng in thys worlde coude they do that were worse? and therfore syth that sayenge agaynste the clergy is an intollerable dyffamacyon but yf that¹ be trewe / I aske thys pacyfyer by what meane he proueth it trew.

For as the clergy, if this assertion is true, have been guilty of an intolerable fault; so the assertion itself, unless it is true, is intolerable defamation.

Every one knows that some of those who have been punished would never have obtained any part

And fyrste to shew that in some part at the lest hys wordes appere false / euery man knoweth that some of those *that* haue ben punysshed, haue ben such, as neyther yf the clergy loste theyr landes shold haue any parte therof

¹ 'that': it '57.

them selfe / & were of suche well knowen noughtynesse and lewde lyuynge bysyde, that no good man coulde thynke it lykely, that suche folke as they were shold do it for any deuocyon / as was syr Thomas Hytton that was waxen a ioynour, & in many a daye neyther sayd matens nor masse, but raged and rayled agaynst the blessed sacrament / and Blofelde¹ thapostata that was abiured in London, and after rayled agaynste all relygyons at Ipswych, and therupon taken and emprisoned at Norwich / and Bayfelde the monke and apostata, that was as² an abiured and after periured and relapsed heretyke, well and worthely burned in Smythfelde: these with diuerse such other as haue ben punysshed for heresy, haue bene none suche as the clergy neded to punysse theym for fere that they sholde gete from theym any parte of theyr landes to them selfe, nor were of suche wysdome, lernyng, nor vertu neither *that* the clergy could fere *that* any men of wyt or of authoryte, wold any thyng regard theyr wordes / but onely that the clergy fered, that by theyr meanes myghte growe the losse and destruccion of many light persons soules.

of the clergy's lands for themselves, and that they were, moreover, so bad as to preclude the idea that their actions were due to devotion. Such were Hitton, who was once a priest, and Blomfield and Bayfield, both apostates.

From these and others like them the clergy had nothing to fear,

except that they might cause the destruction of the souls of many light persons.

For yf thys pacyfyer wyll saye, that the clergy fered lest those folke and many suche other lyke, sholde conspyre & gather togyther, and pull all a waye from them by force: I can not saye nay but suche a thyng myght in dede by long sufferaunce come aboute, as well in thys lande as it hath in other. But than yf the clergy fered *that* thyng / they fered for mo than them selfe. For surely yf suche thyng sholde fortune as I truste it neuer shall / those folke wolde not take onely fro the clergy, but amonge other from some of theyr owne laye bretherne to, such as haue aught to lese.

If the Pacifier says that the clergy feared they might lose their possessions through a conspiracy of many wicked men, I cannot deny that through long sufferance such a thing might happen here as it has elsewhere; but the danger would threaten the laity as well as the clergy.

But thys pacyfyer wyll peraduenture say, that though suche maner folke as euyll prestes & apostatas that the clergy haue punysshed, be none of those that they punysshed for *that* cause, but bycause they were here-

But perhaps he will say that, in addition to wicked priests and apostates, who were punished for their

¹ 'Blofelde': Blomfelde M.

² 'as' omitted '57.

heresies, the clergy did punish many persons upon false suspicions, and will bring forth his 'much people' again.

Yet by his own account these 'much people',

though their assertion, like his, is but guess-work,

are less severe in their judgment than the Pacifier himself.

I ask him, moreover, what number is the least that he would call 'many.' For though the unjust punishment of very few be overmuch, the word 'many' must needs signify more than two or three.

And moreover since the Pacifier is dealing with a cause of this recent and (as he says) almost universal

tykes in dede / yet many other haue they punysshed for that cause, that is to wytte bycause they mysse construed theyr myndes and rekened them for enymyes to the clergie, for onely findyng of fawtes at the mysse order & abusyons of the clergy. And he wyll say as he sayth, that not onely hym selfe sayth that the clergie haue punysshed many persons therfore / but that also mych people (though they saye not so farre as he sayth, that is to wytte *that* they punysshed theym therfore) wll¹ yet saye that they punysshed them rather of wyll than of loue to the people. well yet the same mych people yf this pacyfyer haue herde them so saye, though theyr so sayenge be grounded but vpon imaginacyon and gessyng at the secretys of other mennes myndes (as hys owne imaginacyon is) yet iudge they not so euyll as hym selfe doth. For yf they iudge in that punysshement no more, but lesse loue to the people then desyre to punisshement / they iudge not yet that the punysshers dyd the parties wronge as thys pacyfyer doth hym selfe, that sayth the clergie mysseconstrued theyr myndes, and vppon suche myssetakyng of theyr myndes for onely spekyng agaynste theyr mysse order and abusyons, dyd therfore punysse them.

And therfore lettyng as I sayd before hys mych people passe by about theyr other bysynesse / I aske thys pacyfyer hym selfe, syth the sayeth that the clergy hath for that cause punysshed many, what number is the leste that he calleth many? For though very fewe be ouer many to be so wrongfully myssehandeled and punysshed, for onely spekyng agaynst mysseorder & abusyons / yet euer more thys worde 'many', muste nedes importe and sygnifye some greter number perdye than one or two or thre.

And ouer this, bycause the mater wheruppon this pacyfyer bryngeth yt in, is for a cause of a great and in maner vniuersal grudge and diuysyon, nowe of late (as he sayth) sprongen vppe and growen betwene the spyryt-

¹ 'wll': wyl '57.

ualtye and the temporaltye / these many persones that he speketh of, whyche haue ben so late for onely spekyng agaynst mysorder and abusyons punyshed, muste nedes be so many as that there haue ben some such so punyshed almoste in euery dyocyse. For elles he playn reproueth his owne processe, & excuseth the clergye hym selfe vnware / and layeth no lytle faute in the temporalty, yf for the wrongfull demeanoure of one byshoppe or twayn in one person or twayne, they wolde bere an vnyuersall grudge agaynste all the remanaunt.

Now to proue to what passe this pacyfyer coulede brynge his processe of his many persons, so sore myshandeled and punyshed for onely spekyng agaynste mysseorder and abusyons of the clergye / let this pacyfyer peruse and reherse by name all the dyocises of englande and wales therwyth, & I wene veryly that excepte London and Lyncolñ, he shal scante in any one of all the remanaunt fynde punyshed for heresy feure persons in fyue yere, and in the more parte of them not fyue in . xv . yere / nor delyuered into the seculare handes in the most parte of them any one in . xx . yere. And then yf thys be thus, all though (whyche I trow no man thynketh) of all those that in al the other dyocises haue ben punyshed were wronged euery chone / yet were not so few lykely to haue made so great an vniuersall grudge, as this pacyfyer speketh of. For I suppose no man douteth, but that by one occasion and other, mo men then so many, haue misse happed to be in lesse space mysse punyshed in so myche space of the land by temporall men / and yet hathe there not growen any vniuersall grudge or dyuisyon agaynst any part of the people therby.

Let vs nowe then come to those two dyocises of London & Lyncolñ / & of those twayne fyrste to speke of Lyncolñ, as great a dyocise as yt is, and as many shyres as he hath wyth in yt, yet haue I not herde of late many punyshed for heresy amonge theym all. But aboute a tenne yere a go to my remembraunce, there

division, there must needs be some of these many unjustly punished persons in almost every diocese; else he exonerates the clergy unawares and convicts the laity of condemning them unjustly.

But if he will go over all the dioceses of England and Wales, he will find, I believe, that, except London and Lincoln, there is scarcely one in which four persons have been punished for heresy in five years, that in the majority less than five have been so punished in fifteen years, and that in most of them no one has been delivered to the secular arm for twenty years.

Even in the great diocese of Lincoln, with all its shires, I have not heard that many were punished lately for heresy. But about ten years

ago some twelve or fourteen in one town made abjuration; and every man that I heard speak of it seemed glad that such a nest was broken up.

For there were then no Pacifiers that busied themselves in publishing some-says.

were in that dyocise about . xii . or fourteen abiured in one town / and at that tyme euery man that I herde speke therof, eyther in *the* court or elles where, appered very glad that suche a bed of snakes was so found out and broken. For then were there at that time no pacifiers to putte forth bookes and lament suche dyuysyons, wyth layeng for a¹ cause of *the* grudge, *that* many persones were mysse handeled and punyshed for onely spekyng agaynste the mysse order and abusyons of the clergie. But nowe euery one *that* is punished any where, is ynough for a mater of a lamentable boke of dyuysyon, that may to pacyfye *the* grudge ere yt bygynne, vse a fyguer of some say, & they say, & many say, and myche people sayth, and many men thynke, & such other / & therwith enueygle *the* reder, & make som good folke wene that right were wronge and euery one man an hundred.

If there has been more ado in these matters in the diocese of London, it is no wonder, since many people come there from other parts of England and from abroad.

Now since more than twice as many heretics have been punished here as in all the rest of the realm, and since the evidence in these cases may be obtained with least labour and cost, let this Pacifier prove that some of them — say twenty or ten — were dealt with unjustly. At least, after his sweeping

But now come I to the dyocise of London, in whyche though there haue ben somewhat more a do in these maters there is no great meruayle, syth vnto this dyocise there is so great resorte & confluence, not onely from other partes of this realme, but also from other landes. And yet euen here of all that hath ben punyshed in this dyocyse, eyther in the countye of Essex (for as for in Myddelsex I remember none) or in the cytye selfe, eyther of resyauntes therin or of resorters therto, Englishe men or straungers, syth this pacyfyer affermeth that many persons be punyssed by the clergy for the onely spekyng agaynst theyr abusyons and mysse-order / and of those that haue ben punyshed eyther ryght or wronge, farre the moste parte haue ben here double and treble I trowe to all the remanauzt of the whole realme / and this is here nexte at hande, wherby the proues of all suche myssehandelynge maye here wyth leste laboure and charge be brought forth, and the treuth moste easely tryed: lette thys pacyfyer of those many myssehandeled & wronge punyshed persones that he

¹ 'a': the '57.

speketh of, come forth and here proue vs some. Let hym proue .xx. let hym proue xii. let hym proue .x. let hym proue syx, lette hym proue twayne / or for very shame after such a gret word of 'so many', let hym proue someone at the leste. But surely I suppose he shall neuer be able to do that.

assertion about many, let him prove injustice in a single case. He will not, I believe, be able to do so.

The .xxxvi. chaptyer.

BUT I suppose in good faith that this pacifyer hath of some facyltye of hys own good nature, ben easy to beleue some such as haue told hym lyes / and hath ben therby persuaded to thynke that many other folke sayde and knewe the thyng that some few told hym for very treuth. And surely they that are of this new bretherhed be so bold & so shamelesse in lyenge, that who so shall here them speke and knoweth not what secte they be of, shall be very sore abused by them.

Probably through good-natured credulity he has believed some of the bold lies of these new brethren.

My selfe haue good experyence of them. For *the* lyes are neyther few nor small, *that* many of *the* blessed brethern haue made, & dayly yet make by me ✓ Dyuers of them haue sayd that of suche as were in my howse whyle I was chauncellour, I vsed to examyne them wyth turmentes, causynge them to be bounden to a tre in my gardyn, & there pituously beten.

I myself have suffered, and still do suffer, from them. For they have said that when I was chancellor I used to examine with torture some that were in my house, and cause them to be bound to a tree and whipped pituously.

And thys tale had some of those good bretherne so caused to be blown about, that a ryghte wurshypfull frende of myne dyd of late wythin lesse than thys fourtenyghte, tell vnto another nere frende of myne that he hadde of late herde mych spekyng therof.

what can not these brethern saye, that can be so shamelesse to saye thus? For of very trouth, albe it that for a great robbery, or an heyghnouse murder, or sacryledge in a chyrche, wyth caryenge away the pyxe wyth the blessed sacrament, or vylanously castynge it out, I caused some tyme such thynges to be done by some offycers of the marshalsy or of some other prysons wyth whyche orderynge of them by theyr well deserued

If they are so shameless as still to repeat these lies about me, what will they not say?

Although for a great robbery, or heinous murder, or sacrilege in a church, I sometimes caused such

things to be done, and by that treatment found out and repressed many desperate wretches; yet, in spite of the fact that heretics are even more dangerous, I never did more than provide for their safe - keeping, except in two cases.

One of these was that of a boy, employed as servant in my house, who had learned George Joye's heresy against the Blessed Sacrament.

When I discovered that he was beginning to teach this heresy in my house, I caused him to be whipped like a child before the household.

The other case was that of a heretic who had become frenzied and been shut up in Bedlam, where, after punishment, he was set at liberty.

Thereupon he again became troublesome, entering churches and playing mad and indecent pranks,

payne, & wythout any greate hurte that afterwarde sholde stycke by them, I founde out and repressed many suche desperate wretches, as ellys had not fayled to haue gone ferther abrode, & to haue done to many good folke a gret deale mych more harme: yet though I so dyd in theues, murderers, and robbers of chyrches / and notwithstandynge also that heretykes be yet mych worse then al they, yet sauynge onely theyr sure keepynge, I neuer dyd els cause any such thyng to be done to any of them all in all my lyfe, excepte onely twayne / of whyche the tone was a chylde and a seruaunt of myne in myne own house, whome hys father hadde ere euer he came with me, nowseled vp in suche maters, and had sette hym to attende vpon George Iaye or Gee otherwyse called Clerke, which is a preste, and is now for all *that* wedded in Antwarpe / into whose howse there, the two nonnys were brought, which Iohan Byrt otherwyse called Adryan stale out of theyr cloyster to make them harlottes. Thys George Iay dyd teche thys chylde hys vngracyouse heresy agaynst the blessed sacrament of the aluter / whych heresy thys chylde afterward beyng in seruyce wyth me, began to teche another chylde in my howse, whyche vttered hys counsayle. And vppon *that* poynt perceyued & knowen / I caused a seruaunt of myne to strype hym lyke a chylde before myne houshold, for amendement of hym selfe and ensample of suche other.

Another was one, whyche after that he had fallen in to *the* frantike heresy, fell soone after in to playne open fransye bysyde. And all be it that he had therfore ben put vppe in bedelem, and afterwarde by betynge and correccyon gathered hys remembraunce to hym, and beganne to come agayne to hym selfe / beyng theruppon set at lyberty and walkynge about abrode, hys olde fansyes beganne to fall agayn in his hed. And I was fro dyuers good holy places aduertised, that he vsed in his wanderynge aboute, to come into the chyrche, & there make many madde toyes & tryflies, to the trouble

of good people in the dyuyneseruyce / and specially wold he be most besy in the tyme of moste sylence, whyle the preste was at the secretes of the masse aboute the leuacyon. Any yf he spyed any woman knelynge at a forme / yf her hed hynged any thyng lowe in her medytacyons, than wolde he stele behynde her, & yf he were not letted wolde laboure to lyfte vp all her clothes & caste them quyte ouer her hed. wheruppon I beyng aduertysed of these pageauntes, and beyng sent vnto and requyred by very deuout relygyouse folke, to take some other order wyth hym / caused him as he came wanderyng by my dore, to be taken by the constables and bounden to a tre in the strete byfore the whole towne, and there they stryped hym with roddys therfore tyl he waxed wery and somewhat lenger. And it appered well that hys remembraunce was good inough, saue that it wente about in grasyng till it was beten home. For he could than very well reherse hys fawtes hym selfe, and speke and trete very well, and promyse to do afterwarde as well. And veryly god be thanked I here none harme of hym now.

especially during the mass, to the disturbance of the worshippers.

After I had received complaints about these disturbances from devout religious persons, I caused him to be taken by the constables, bound, and publicly whipped.

He then seemed sane enough, and promised to reform. And I hear no harm of him now.

And of all that euer came in my hande for heresy, as helpe me god, sauynge as I sayd the sure keeping of them / and yet not so sure neyther but that George constantyne coulde stele awaye: ellys had neuer any of them any strype or stroke gyuen them, so mych as a fylyppe on the forhed.

No one else who came before me for heresy received so much as a fillip from me. And the sure keeping that I provided was not so sure but that Constantine escaped. Some have said that I thereupon fell into a rage. But though I would not have suffered him to go, yet as he was not so weakened by ill-treatment but that he was able to break the stocks and leap the wall, so was I not so heavy for his escape but that I could survive it.

And some haue sayde that whan Constantyne was gotten away, I was fallen for anger in a wonderfull rage. But surely though I wolde not haue suffred him go if it wold haue pleased hym to haue taryed style in the stockes / yet whan he was neyther so feble for lacke of meate but that he was stronge inough to breke the stockes, nor waxen so lame of hys leggyss wyth lyenge but that he was lyghte inough to lepe the wallys / nor by any mysse-handelyng of his hed so dulled or dased in hys brayn, but that he had wytte inough whan he was onys out, wysely to walke hys waye: neyther was I than so heuy

And as for Constantine himself, I will never be so unreasonable as to blame a man for rising when he finds himself uncomfortable seated.

But the brethren tell wondrous lies of the tortures heretics had in my house. One Segar, who was in my house four or five days, and never had any bodily harm or harsh words during the time, has since reported that he was cruelly treated.

And Tyndale, repeating this to a friend of mine, added that while Segar was being beaten I took his purse away from him, and that he never saw it afterwards. I dare say the latter statement is true. For neither Segar nor I saw it afterwards or before!

Since I can obtain riches so easily, it is no wonder that I have suddenly grown so wealthy; for Tyndale told my friend that I

for the losse, but that I hadde youth inough left me to were it out / nor so angry wtih¹ any man of myne *that* I spake them any euyl word for the mater, more then to my porter that he sholde se the stockes mended and locked faste, that the prysoner stale not in agayne. And as for Constantyne hym selfe / I could [hym]² in good fayth good thanke. For neuer wyll I for my part be so vnreasonable, as to be angry wyth any man that ryseth if he can, whan he fyndeth hym selfe that he sytteth not at hys ease.

But now tell the brethern many meruaylouse lyes, of myche cruell tormentynge that heretykes hadde in my house / so farforth that one Segar a boke seller of Cambridge whyche was in myne house about foure or fyue days, and neuer hadde eyther bodely harme done hym, or fowle worde spoken hym whyle he was in myne house, hath reported syns as I heare say to dyuerse, that he was bounden to a tree in my gardeyn, and thereto to pytuously beten / and yet besyde that bounden about the hed wyth a corde & wrongen, that he fell downe dede in a swowne.

And this tale of his betyng, dyd Tyndale tell to an old acquaytaunce of his owne, and to a good louer of myne / with one pyece farther yet, *that* whyle the man was in betyng, I spyed a lytle purse of his hangynge at his doublette, wherin the pore man hadde (as he sayde) fyue marke / and that caught I quykely to me and pulled yt from his doublette, and put yt in my bosome, and that Segar neuer sawe yt after / and therin I trow he sayd trew, for no more dyd I neyther nor byfore neyther, nor I trowe no more dyd Segar hym selfe neyther in good fayth.

But now when I can come to goodes by suche goodly ways / it is no great meruayle though I be so sodaynly growen to so great substaunce of rychesse, as Tyndale tolde hys acquayntaunce and my frend / to whom he sayd that he wyst wel that I was no lesse worth in money

¹ 'wtih': wyth '57.

² 'hym' c.

and plate and other mouables, then twenty thousande was worth
markes. And as myche as that haue dyuerse of the good twenty thousand
bretherne affermed here nerer home. marks.

And surely this wyll I confesse, that yf I haue heped If I have
vp so myche good to gether / then haue I not gotten the amassed all
tone half by ryghte. And yet by all the theuys, mur- that, I have not
derers, and heretyques, that euer came in my handes, got half of it
am I not I thanke god the rycher of one grote, & yet by rights. And
haue they spent my¹ twayn Howe be yt yf eyther any of yet, for all the
them, or of any kynde of people ellys, that any cause thieves, mur-
haue had byfore me, or other wyse any medelyng wyth derers, and
me, fynd hym selfe so sore greued wyth any thyng that heretics that
I haue taken of his / he hadde some tyme to speke therof. ever came be-
And now syth no man cometh forth to aske any resty- fore me, I am
tucyon yet, but hold theyr peace and slacke theyr time not the richer
so longe: I geue them all playn peremptory warnynge by one grote.

now, that they dreue yt of no lenger. For yf they
tarye tyll yesterday, & then come & aske so great somes
among them, as shall amount to twenty thousande
marke / I purpose to purchace suche a proteccyon
for them, that I wyll leue my selfe lesse then the fourth
parte, euyn of shrewdenes, rather then euer I wyll
pay them.

And now dare I say, that yf this pacifyer hadde by If this Pacifier
experyence knowen the trouthe of *that* kynde of people / had had experi-
he wold not haue geuen so myche credence to theyre ence with these
lamentable *complaynynges*, as yt semeth me by some of people he would
his Some sayes he doth. have been less
credulous of
some-says.

How by yt what fayth my wordes wyll haue wyth Though I
hym in these myne owne causes, I can not very surely cannot say what
saye, nor yet very greatly care. his judgment
And yet stande I not in may be, among
so myche dout of my selfe, but that I truste well in many good men
that I truste I may reken hym / myne own worde my word even in
among many good & honeste men, among whych sorte my own cause
of folke I truste I may reken hym / myne own worde would be ac-
wold alone euen in myne own cause be somewhat better cepted sooner
byleued then wold *the* othes of some twayn of this new than the oaths
bretherhed in a mater of a nother man. of two of these
brethren in a
matter in which
they had no
interest.

The . xxxvii . chapyter.

Spiritual men have been slandered similarly. Witness the tales of torture circulated by the heretic Symonds about the Bishop of Winchester

BUT nowe to come to some spyrytuall mens causes, agaynst whome there are layde lyke lyes / one Symondes a long well knowen heretyke walkynge about the realme, was taken not longe a go, by *the* offycers of the right reuerende father my lord bysshoppe of winchester / & beyng put in a chamber to kepe, and brekyng oute at a wyndow, hath tolde many of his bretherne syns, that he was meruaylously tormented by the byshoppes offycers in pryson, and sholde haue ben murdered therin to, and that elles he wolde neuer haue runne his way. But he wold neuer syns complayne of his harmes to the kynge or hys counsaile / but wyll rather of perfecyon suffer them al pacyently, then to pursew & proue them wyth his forthe commynge agayn.

If only the Pacifier might investigate this case he would perhaps be less credulous hereafter.

wolde god this pacyfyer myght haue the xamynacyon of that mater. It wolde peraduenture do hym great good hereafter, to fynde oute the trewth of suche a false heretyques tale.

Though the brethren now boast of Symonds's escape, if he had happened to die in some place known only to themselves they would not have scrupled to say that he had been secretly killed in prison.

And nowe not wythstandynge that the brethern boste myche of his happy scape: yet yf he happed to dye or be hanged somewhere there as no man wyste where but they, they wolde not let for a nede to say that he scaped not at al, but was priuily kylled in pryson, and pryuyly caste away. For so sayde some of them by George Constantine, not onely vppon his fyrst flyght out of my keping, but also euen now of late, not wythstandynge that they well knowe that many marchauntes of our own had sene hym syns laugh & make mery at Antwarpe.

Such delight have these brethren, who ever talk of faith and truth, in inventing lies.

Suche luste haue these blessed bretherne *that* euer talke of faith and sprete and trouthe and veryte, continually to deuys and imagyne lyes of malyce and hated, agaynste all those that labour to make them good.

Frith reported that the Chancellor of London said

And suche a pleasure hath eyther Fryth hym selfe or els some other false folysshe bretherne of his secte. For he told one or twayn, and caused the bretherne to blowe

it farther aboute, that worde was sente hym into the towre, that the chauncellour of London sayde it sholde coste hym the beste bloude in hys body.

that his heresy should cost him the best blood in his body.

Now whyther Fryth lyed or hys felowes, let them draw cut bytwene them. For surely where they tell it vnder suche maner, as though mayster chauncellour sholde reioyce & haue a cruell desyre of the mannes deth: I knowe hym so well that I dare well saye they falsely bylye hym therin.

I do not know who invented that lie, but I know the Chancellor well enough to be sure that it is a lie.

How be it some treuth they myghte happe to here wheruppon they myghte buylde theyr lye. For so was it that on a tyme one came & shewed me that Fryth labored so sore that he swette agayne, in studyeng and wrytyng agaynst the blessed sacrament. And I was of trouth very heuy to heare that the yonge folysse felowe sholde bystowe suche labour about such a deuelysh wurke / and wysshynge that the man had some good chrysten frende to whome he wold geue eare, that myghte wythdrawe hym from geuyng & enclynyng all hys harte to the folowyng of that frantyke heresy, wherwyth he were in perell to perysshe bothe body and soule, sayed in the communycacion these wordes or other of lyke effect: For yf that Fryth quod I swete in laboring to quenche the fayth, that all trew chrysten people haue in Chrystes blessed body and bloude, whyche all chrysten folke veryly, and all good folke frutefully receyue in the forme of brede: he shall labour more than in vayne. For I am sure that Fryth & all his felowes, wyth all the frendes that are of theyr affinite, shall neyther be able to quenche and putte out that fayth. And ouer that yf Fryth laboure aboute the quenchynge therof tyll he swete / I wolde some good frend of hys shold shew hym, that I fere me sore that Cryst wyll kyndle a fyre of fagottes for hym, & make hym therin swete the bloude out of hys body here, and straye frome hense send hys soule for euer into the fyre of hell.

When some one once told me that Frith was labouring sore in attacks upon the Blessed Sacrament, I was sad to hear of such devilish work; and, wishing that he might be dissuaded from it by some Christian friend,

I said in effect: If Frith labours to quench the faith that all Christians have in Christ's blessed body and blood, he shall labour in vain;

and moreover I fear that Christ will kindle a fire of faggots for him here, and send his soul for ever into the fire of hell.

Now in these wordes I neyther ment nor meane, that I wold it were so For so help me god and none other-

In these words I did not mean that I would it

were so. For I would gladly undergo more labour, loss, and pain than many men might suppose to win that young man to Christ and His true faith again.

My words may have been distorted and foisted upon the Chancellor.

But his mildness is so well known that he will not be injured by such slander.

Some may think it unlikely that the words should have been attributed to the Chancellor rather than to me, since these heretics feel more aggrieved against me than against him.

If they were wise they would not feel aggrieved against either of us; for we both intend only their own good.

wyse, but as I wolde be gladde to take more labour, losse, and bodyly payne also, thenne peradventure many a man wolde wene, to wynne that yonge man to Cryste and his trewe fayth agayne, & therby to preserue and kepe hym from the losse and perell of soule & body bothe.

Now myghte it peradventure be, that I tolde mayster chauncellour this tale, and so I wene I dyd / and he myght theruppon happen to reporte it agayne, or saye some suche lyke wordes of lyke purpose to some other man / and that there vppon these bretherne buyelde vppe theyr tower of lyes. Or ellys whyche were not impossible, Fryth yf he herde the tale tolde by me, myghte wythdrawynge the beste, and makynge it seme suche as hym selfe lyst, tell it out by mayster chauncellour, to brynge hym amonge the people in opynion of malyce and crueltye. But hys mylde mynde and very tender dealinge in suche maters, is amonge all the peple by good experyence so playnly proued and so clerely known, that it wyll be harde to brynge any such synyster opynion of hym in any good honest mannys hed, for the wordes of a great meynye suche maner folke as Fryth is / whyche not onely speketh lyes agaynst honeste men, but also wryteth false lyes and heresyas agaynste the blessed sacrament of the aulter.

Some man wyll yet peradventure saye, that thys is a thyng farre vnlykely, that eyther Fryth or any man els wold wyttyngly take a bourden from one man and laye it in a nother mannys necke / & namely to laye it to the chawncellour fro me, syth that all such folke reken in them self, that they haue more cause of gryefe agaynst me then hym.

Surely yf they were wyse and entended to be good / they sholde neyther thynke them selfe to haue cause of gryefe or grudge agaynste me nor hym neyther. For of my selfe I wote well, and of hym I byleue the same, that we nothyng entende vnto theym but theyr own welthe / which wythout theyr amendemente by chaunge of theyr heresyas into the trewe fayth agayne, is impossible to be gotten.

But for the poynt that I spake¹ of, *that* it were not so farre vnlykely as it wolde happely seme, that Fryth wolde turne *the* tale fro me to mayster chauncellour / ye shall perceyue partely by his own dede, & partely by the dealyng of some other such *in* such lyke maner of mater. For ye shall vnderstand, that after that Fryth had wryten a false folysse treatyce agaynste the blessed sacrament of *the* aulter / I hauyng a copy therof sent vnto me, made shortly an answer therto. And for bycause *that* hys boke was not put abroad in prent / I wolde not therefore lette myne runne abroad in mennes handes. For as I haue often sayde, I wolde wysshe that the comon people sholde of suche heresydes neuer hereso myche as the name. But for as myche as that thyng is impossyble to prouyde but that heretikes wyll be doing / therefore are other folke some tyme dreuyn of necessitye to speke of those maters also, & to make answer vnto them.

But you shall soon perceive that it is not altogether unlikely that Frith should attribute the words to the Chancellor.

After Frith had written his treatise against the Blessed Sacrament, I prepared an answer from a copy which had been sent me. But since his treatise was not in print, I kept my answer from circulation. For I wish that the common people might never hear of heresies. But when heretics are active, other men are compelled to answer their arguments.

And therefore whan heretykes abiure and do theyr penauunce / the prechour is fayne to reherse theyr opynyons in the pulpet, and there answer those deuelyshe argumentes openly, with whych those heretykes fyrst deceyue men & women in corners secretly, and after sprede them abroad in audience by defence of those heresydes *in* theyr examinacion openly.

Thus when heretics make abjuration, the preacher is fain to repeat and answer their arguments openly.

And also yf theyr bokes be onys putte abroad in prente / it is a thyng very harde to gete theym well in agayne. But as for me, I vsed therein thys prouysyone for the remedy on bothe partes, that though I wold not put myne answer abroad into euery mannes handes at aduenture, bycause Frythes booke was not put out abroad in prente: yet I caused myne answer to be prented vnder myne own name, to thentent I myghte as in dede I haue, gyue oute some to suche as I perceyued had sene hys boke before.

Therefore I printed my answer under my own name for private distribution among such as I perceived had seen his treatise in manuscript.

Now happed it that vpon a tyme, the ryghte reuerende father my lorde bysshoppe of wynchester, sent for Fryth vnto his owne place, of very fatherly fauour to-

Now the Bishop of Winchester sent for Frith, with fatherly favour

¹ 'spake': speake '57.

desiring his amendment, partly because as a young boy Frith had served and studied in his household.

Though it would take too long to repeat their conversation, I wish that it might have been heard by Frith's admirers.

warde the yonge mannys amendement / whyche he sore desyred, bothe for other causes, and among other causes partely also for thys, bycause he was not many yeres a go a yong boye waytynge vppon hym and a scoler of hys. In that comunicacion what wordes were bytwene them were now to long to reherse. But such they were as I wolde wysshe that all suche as be wyse, and wene *that* Fryth were wyse (whyche be peradventure some that here the bretherne speke of hym, & waye not them selfe hys wordes) hadde there standen by and herde. For they sholde I am sure haue taken Fryth euer after, for suche as he playnely before good recorde proued hym selfe than / which was not an heretyke onely, but bysydes that a proude vnlerned fole.

As Frith persisted in his heresy, his lordship, hoping that the fellow's folly might appear, summoned worshipful witnesses.

And when Frith appeared loth to have his heresy known, his lordship said that it was too late to keep it secret, since copies of the book were in circulation and a reply had already been printed. And thereupon he showed Frith a printed copy of his answer.

But as I was aboute to tell you, in that comunycacyon my sayde lorde of wynchester among other thynges communed with Fryth agaynst his afore remembred heresy *that* he so sweteth in, to impugne the trew chrysten fayth concernynge the sacrament of the aulter. And when Frith there stode in his heresy, as styffely as he defended yt folysshely secretely betwene them twayn / my lord longyng that the felowes folly myght appere, called good & worshippefull witnesses vnto *them*. And then bycause his lordshyppe perceyued Fryth, loth to haue it knowen abroad out of the bretherhed, as yet at that tyme that he went about to poysene the realme wyth *that* pestilent heresy agaynst the sacrament: my lorde I say sayd vnto hym, that yt was nowe to late for hym to thynke that he coulde kepe close / reuoke it Fryth (quod his lordshyppe) ye may and repent yt, and so were yt well done ye dyd / but kepe it fro knowledge you can not, ye be gone nowe so farre. For your bokes of this mater haue ben sene abroad in many mennes handes / and that so longe, that lo here is an answer all redy made vnto yt, and shewed hym my boke in prent / but of trouthe he delyuered yt not vnto hym. How be yt sone after he gate myne answer I can not tell of whom / and syns haue I herd of late, that he sweteth aboute *that* mater

a freshe, and hathe I here saye, the deuylyshe bokes of wyclefe, Swynglius, & frere Huyskyn secretly conueyed vnto hym into the toure, & hath begonne and gone on a great way in a newe boke agaynste the sacrament.

But the thyng that I tell you this tale for is this. I am well enformed *that* he knoweth very wel that I made that answer / and yt is not very lykely but that by one or other he hath the boke in prent / and of lykelyhed he neuer had yt otherwyse. For that was as easy a waye ye wote well, as one to wryte it out that hadde it in prent all redy / and before yt was prented I know very wel he could neuer get it. And at the lest wise I know it well that he knoweth wel ynough that the answer was made by me / and yet he dyssymuleth that, and faynyng hym selfe not to know who made it, but to thynke yt rather that my sayd lord of wynchester made yt then any manⁿ elles, maketh his newe boke as I am very certaynly enfourmed, not agaynste me by name, but all agaynste my sayde lorde, of a solempne pryde that he wolde haue his boke seme a dysputacyon betwene the boy and the byshoppe.

But there shall not greatly nede suche a byshoppe so lerned as my sayde lorde is, to dyspute wyth any suche as Fryth is, for fyue suche bokes as that is, yf yt be no wyser then was his other, or then this his new is eyther, yf it be no wyser then one telleth me, that both can good skylle and hath herd a great part redde / nor how so euer he haue handeled it, wyse wyll it neuer be while *the* mater therof is so false And therefore when *the* boke shal hereafter be finyshed and happeth to come to myne handes, I trust to make almost euery boy able to perceyue the false foly thereof, though he couer hys roten frute as close and as comely as euer any costerdmonger couered hys basket.

But this as I sayde ye may good reders se, that as Fryth taketh myne answer fro me, whyche hym selfe and euery man elles knoweth well for myne, and imputeth yt to the byshop of wynchester: it were not myche

Now Frith, having obtained a copy of my book, and knowing me to be the author, pretends to think that the book was written by the Bishop of Winchester, and is proudly addressing an answer to him.

But there is no need that so learned a bishop should dispute with such a person as Frith.

When his book is finished I trust that I shall be able to demonstrate its folly, even to boys.

From this episode you may see that it is not altogether unlikely that Frith should distort my words and

then attribute vnlykely, that he wolde when he had herde of a thyng
 them to the that I had sayd, & when hym selfe had made yt worse,
 Chancellor of London. then chaunge yt fro me and impute it vnto maister
 chauncellour of London.

The .xxxviii. chaptyer.

WHyche if he do, he doth yt not alone. For this poynt
 played also Thomas Philippis of London letherseller
 Thomas Philips played a nowe prysoner in *the* towre. whom when I was chaun-
 similar game. cellour, vpon certayn thynges *that* I found out by him,
 When, as Chan- making inquiries about the for-
 cellor, I was bidden books, I heard things
 celled, I was about the for- biden bokes, I sent for / and when I hadde spoken wyth
 bidden books, I boken bokes, I sent for / and when I hadde spoken wyth
 heard things that led me to hym, and honestely intreated hym one day or twayn in
 send for him. myne house, and laboured about his amendement in as
 For a day or two I laboured harty louynge maner as I coulde: when I perceyued
 lovingly for his a mendment. fynally the person suche that I coulde fynde no trouthe,
 Then, perceiuing neyther in his worde nor his othe, and saw the lykelyhed
 that neither his word nor his oath could be that he was in the settinge forth of suche heresydes
 trusted, and that he was likely to do much harm closely, a man mete and lykely to do many folke myche
 in setting forth heresies secretly, harme: I by endenture delyuered hym to his ordynary.
 I delivered him by indenture to his ordinary. And yet for bycause I perceyued in hym a great vayne
 Yet, recalling the case of gloryouse lykyng of hym selfe, and a great spyce of the
 Hunne, and seeing reason to same spyryt of pryde that I perceyued byfore in Rych-
 fear that Philips might arde Hunne when I talked with him / and fered that yf
 follow Hunne's example, he were in *the* bysshoppes prysone, his gostely enmy
the deuyll myght make hym there destroy hym selfe /
 and then myght suche a new besynes aryse agaynste
 mayster chauncellour that now is, as at that tyme arose
 vpon the chauncelloure that was then / whyche thyng
 I fered in Thomas Philypys somewhat also the more,
 bycause a cosyn of his a barbour in Pater noster row
 called Holy Iohan, after that he was suspected of
 heresyde and spoken to therof, ferynge the shame of the
 worlde drowned hym self in a well: I for these causes
 I advised, and aduysed & by my meanes holpe, that Thomas Philips
 helped to bring it about, that he should be im-
 prisoned in the (whyche all be yt that he sayd that *the* clergy loued hym

not, semed not yet very loth to go to the byshoppes prison) was receyued prysoner in to the towre of London. And yet after that he complayned theruppon, not agaynst me but agaynste the ordynarye. wheruppon the kynges hygnes commaunded certayn of the gretest lordes of hys counsaile, to know how the mater stode. whyche knowen and reported to the kynges grace / his hyghnes as a most vertuose catholyque prynce gaue vnto Thomas Philippis such answeare, as yf he had ben eyther halfe so good as I wolde he were, or halfe so wyse as hym selfe weneth he were, he wold forth wyth haue folowed / and not stande styll in his obstynacye so longe, as he hath now put hym selfe therby in a nother deper parell.

Other haue besydes thys complayned, that they haue ben vntrewly and vniustely handeled / and thys haue they not letted to do after that they haue ben conuicted and abiured, and theyr iuste condemnacyons after theyr open examynacyons and playn and clere proues, so well and openly knowen, *that* they haue by theyr shamelesse clamoure nothyng goten, but rebuke and shame. And yet were some of theym yf theyr ordynaryes had ben so sore & so cruell as this boke of this pacifyer maketh them, fallen agayne in the daunger and parell of relapse.

And some hath ben herd vppon importune clamour, and the cause and handelyng examyned by the greatest lordes temporall of the kynges most honorable counsaile, and that synnes that I left the offyce / and the complaynour fownden in his complaynyng so very shamelesse false, that he hath ben answered that he was to easely delt wyth, and hadde wronge that he was no worse serued.

And suche haue these folke euer be fownden and euer shall. For when they fall to a false fayth in herte / theyr wordes can not be trew. And therefore if this pacifier well & thorowly knewe them / I dare say he wolde lesse byleue theyr lamentable tales, then I fere me that he hath byleued some in complaynyng vpon theyr ordynaryes, agaynst whome he semeth vppon such folkes false complaynyng, to haue conceyued thys opynyon

Tower rather than in the bishop's prison.

Thereupon he complained, not against me, but against the ordinary. The King ordered certain of the greatest lords to inquire into the facts, and, upon their report, gave Philips such an answer as he would have followed if he had been wise.

Others, even after they have been convicted and have made abjuration, have not scrupled to say that they have been unjustly treated.

And the greatest temporal lords of the King's Council have investigated the complaints of some and found them false, and the treatment they received too lenient.

If this Pacifier knew such persons well, I dare say he would be less ready to believe their lamentable complaints against their ordinaries.

that hys boke of dyuysyon sheweth, *that* is to wit, that *the* clergy thynke that euery man that speketh agaynst theyr mysseorder and abusions, loueth no prestes, and that therfore they haue punyshed many men, whyche god forbode were trew. For yf yt were / surely they that so punyssed any one man for that cause, that is to wyt, bycause theym selfe conceyue a false suspicyon agaynst hym / yt were pytye that they lyued. But I thynke in good fayth that the prelates wyll neuer desyre to lyue lenger, then tyl this pacyfyer proue that same false tale trew.

The . xxxix . chapyter.

Now that I have discussed his first chapter, which at first sight appears to be mild, you can see how much charity there is in it.

For there is no order of the clergy, nor any individual among them, that can please him.

Yet with all this faultfinding he says nothing about apostasy; nor does he mention the setting forth of heresies as one of the causes of the alleged division, though these heresies do, and must, cause the most serious divisions.

He might as well have blamed the clergy for these heresies as for some of the other things that he mentions.

I Sayed before, that I wolde towche of thys boke, and so haue I towched, hys fyrste chapyter hole, bycause it hath for the fyrste setting forth the chyefe countenaunce of myldenes and charyte. And yet what charyte there is therin, whan it is considered I suppose you se. For no parte is there of the clergy that can please hym, neyther prelates, nor meane seculare prestes, nor relygyouse persons, not so mych as any one man / as you may plainly perceyue by other wordes of hys in other places of hys louing boke. And yet among al these fautes, I se hym fynde none with them *that* runne out in apostasye / but all the fautes be assygned in them *that* abyde in theyr professyon styll. Nor I fynde not in hys boke any cause of hys dyuysyon, to be founden in the sowynge and settinge forthe of these newe sprogen¹ heresydes. And yet do they make, and nedys muste make wher soeuer they come the greatest dyuysyon that can be / fyrst in opynyons and contraryouse myndes, and afterwarde in feruour of language and contencyouse wordes / and fynally yf it go forth long, in playne sedycion, manslaughter, and open warre.

And this faute of these heresies he myght as well haue layed vnto *the* clergy, as some of the tother that he so sore speketh of, yf he take heresydes for any. For lyke as noughty prestes and noughty relygyouse persons, haue all waye bene they that do those other fautes, whyche

¹ 'sprogen': sprongen '57.

vnder the figure of Some say thys boke layeth to *the* charge of the spyrytualty: so haue noughty prestes and noughty relygyouse folke (beynge amonge the clergy as Iudas was amonge Crystes apostles) bytrayed the fayth of Cryste, & bygonne and sette forth these vngraciously heresy, as fast & as feruently for theyr part, as nowghty laye folke for theyrs / and both twayne fyrst corrupte some of theyr company at home, and after runne oute in apostasye, and putte abrode theyr heresy in wrytynge. And some men saye that some prelates haue not done all theyr partes, in the repressyng and dewe punysshment of them. And yet as great fautes as these be, and suche as all the temporaltye sholde be most greued wyth & grudge at, and therfore shold be moste cause of thys dyuysyon, yf there be suche a dyuysyon / and that euery defaute that is in any noughty persons of the spyrytualty be a cause of all moste an vniuersall dyuysyon and grudge of the whole corps of the temporaltye, agaynste the whole body of the spyrytualtye: yet I saye for all thys, the booke of thys pacyfyer layeth no pyece of thys faute vnto the spyrytualtye / but rather fyndeth faute & cause of grudge & dyuysyon in the spyrytualty, for ouer sore handelyng of them that are heretykes in dede / and laboreth to abasshe the ordinaries with obloquy, and put them in drede wyth fere of infamy, and falsely bereth them in hande that they haue punysshed many persons for a wronge suspicyon, falsely conceyued in theyr owne myndes agaynste those whome they punysshed.

And thus farre hath he gone in his fyrst chapyter. In whiche maner all be it I truste in god the man ment hym selfe but well / yet I fere me some wyly shrew hath somewhat set hym a wry in the temperyng of hys wordes.

The .xl. chapyter.

AND veryly all be it as I sayd before, I purpose not to medle wyth euery parte of hys boke *that* I thynke were well done for hym to amende: yet in hys seuenth

For wicked priests and religious, like Iudas among the apostles, betray the faith of Christ by breaking their vows and publishing their heresies.

And some men say that some prelates have not done their part in repressing them. And yet, serious as these faults are,

the Pacifier does not blame the clergy for them, but on the contrary finds one cause of his division in the too severe treatment of those who are heretics indeed, and endeavours to put the ordinaries out of countenance with his obloquy.

Although I do not intend to deal with every passage that I disapprove, I

shall criticize his two chapters on the treatment of heretics.

Pac.—Another cause of this division is to be found in the processes *ex officio*, in which the accused, not knowing who accused them, have been required in cases of heresy sometimes to abjure and sometimes to do penance or pay great fines; and for these vexations they have blamed the spiritual judges, knowing no other accusers.

If in such processes a man be notably suspected of heresy he must, by canon law, purge himself at the discretion of the ordinary or be accused. Many think that law too severe, since an innocent man may thus be driven to make purgation.

More.—I shall consider the summoning *ex officio* only so far as it concerns heresy, and because I believe that the Pacifier's advice, if it were followed in this matter, would work great harm and no good.

For if no heretic were ever to be summoned unless some man made himself

chapyter & hys eyghte, which twayne treate all of these maters of heresy / for the great weyghte of the mater I shall not forbere to shew you some dyfference and dyuersyte bytwene hys mynde and myne.

'An other occasyon of the sayde dyuysyon hath ben / by reason of dyuers sutes, that haue ben taken in the spyrituall courtes of offyce, that is called in latyn, *ex officio*: so that the partyes haue not knowen who hath accused theym / and theruppon they haue somtyme ben caused to abiure in causes of heresy: somtyme to do penance, or to pay great sommes of money for redemyng therof / whyche vexacyon & charges the partes haue thought haue come to them by the iudges and the offycers of the spyrituall courte: for they haue knowen none other accusers, and that hath caused myche people in dyuers parties of thys realme to thynke great malyce and parcyalyte in the spyrytuall iudges. And yf a man be *ex officio* broughte before the ordynarye for heresy, yf he be notably suspected of heresy: he muste purge hym selfe after the will of the ordynarye, or be accused, and that is by the lawe *extra de hereticis. cap. Ad abolendam*. And that is thought by many to be a very harde lawe, for a man may be suspected and not gyltye, and so be dryuen to a purgacyon wythout profe or wythout offence in hym, or be accused.'

I wyll in thys poynt of conuentynge *ex officio*, no farther speke at thys tyme than concernynge the cryme of heresy. For I am in good fayth loth to medle wyth thys boke of hys at all. For loth am I any thyng to medle agaynst any other mannys wrytyng that is a catholyke man, sauynge that it semeth me veryly that be thys man neuer so good, yet if his minde were folowed in thys mater, it wold wurke thys realme great harme and no good.

For surely yf the conuentynge of heretyques *ex officio* were lefte, and chaunged into an other order, by whyche no man sholde be called be he neuer so sore suspected,

nor by neuer so many men detected, but yf some man make hym selfe partye agaynste hym as hys accuser / the stretys were lykely to swarme full of heretykes before that ryght fewe were accused, or peradventure¹ any one eyther.

For what so euer the cause be / it is not vnknown I am sure that many² wyll geue vnto a iudge secrete enformation of suche thynges, as though they be trewe, yet gladly he wyll not or peradventure dare not, be openly a known that the mater came out by hym. And yet shall he sometyme geue the namys of dyuerse other / whyche beyng called by the iudge, and examyned as wytnessys agaynste theyr wyllys, bothe knowe & wyll also depose the trouthe, and he that fyrste gaue enformacyon also / and yet wyll neuer one of them wyllingly make hym selfe an open accuser of the party, nor dare peradventure for hys earys.

And thys fynde we not onely in heresy, but in many temporall maters amonge our self / wherof I haue hadde experyryence³ many a tyme and ofte, bothe in the dysclosynge of felonies, and somtyme of mych other oppresyon vsd by some one man or twayn in a shyre, wherby all theyr neyghbours sore smarted / and yet not one durste openly complayne. How be it, it cometh in heresyys somtyme to mych worse point. For I haue wyst where those that haue bene in the company at the tyme, beyng folke of good substaunce and such as were taken fro⁴ wurshypfull, beyng called in for wytnesses, haue fyrst made many delayes / and afterwarde beyng examyned on theyr othes, haue sworne that they herd it not, or remembred it not, and toke no hede to the mater at the tyme / where as it well appered by the deposycions of dyuers other beyng wyth them at the tyme, that in euery mannes consyence they lyed. whan

party against him as his accuser, the streets would swarm with heretics before even a few were accused.

For many a man who will not, or dare not, appear openly, will give to a judge secret information and sometimes the names of other witnesses, who, being summoned and questioned against their will, will also depose the truth.

We find this true not only in cases of heresy, but also in temporal matters; for in this way I have often discovered felonies of which, though many had suffered, no one dared to complain. In cases of heresy the conditions are sometimes even worse. I have known of men of good substance and repute who would sooner perjure themselves than depose the truth in these matters.

¹ 'peradventure': peradventure '57.

² 'many': many a man *M*.

³ 'experyryence': experience '57.

⁴ 'fro': for *M*.

Such men would not be likely to come forward as a heretic's accuser.

Though it sometimes, but very rarely, happens that upon vehement suspicions of heresy, without witnesses, the suspect may be required to make purgation and, if he fail, to do penance, yet I cannot see why so many should complain. But perhaps they are not so many as the wise men who made this law.

A man who, though he cannot be proved a heretic, has so conducted himself that his neighbours all believe him to be one, well deserves to do some penance.

And by the common law, judges often detain a suspect until inquiries have been made about his character. If he is vindicated, he is set free upon the payment of his fees; if not, he may at the discretion of the judge have to find sureties for his good behaviour.

wolde these folke bycome an heretykes accusar, agaynste whome they wolde rather be forsworne then of the trouthe to bere wytnesse.

And thys thyng maketh, that yt may be somtyme (all be yt very selde yt happeth) that in heresy vppon other vehement suspicyons wythout wytnesses, a man may be put to his purgacyon and to penaunce also yf he fayle therof. whyche thyng why so many sholde now thynke so hard a lawe as this pacyfyer sayth they do / I can not se, nor those wyse men neyther that made the lawe. And yet were they many wyse men / and not onely as wyse, but peraduenture many mo also in number, then those that this pacyfyer calleth many nowe, that as he sayth fynd now the faute. For though yt be alledged in the *extrauagant de hereticis ca. Ad abolendam*: yet was that lawe made in a generall counsaile.

And verily me thynketh that he whyche can not be proued gyltye in heresy, and yet vseth such maner of wayes that all hys honeste neyghbours wene he were one, and therfore dare not swere that in theyr consyence they thynke him any other / is wel worthy me thynketh to do some penaunce for that maner of byhauour, wherby he geueth all other folke occasyon to take hym for so noughtye.

And by the comen lawe of this realme, many tymes vppon suspicyon the iudges awarde a wrytte to enquire of what fame and behauour the man is in hys countrey / and hym selfe lyeth somtyme styll in pryson tyll the retourne / & yf he be retourned good, that is to wyt yf he be in a maner purged, then is he delyuered, and yet he payeth his fees ere he go. And yf he be retourned nought / then vse the iudges to bynde hym for his good aberynge, and somtyme suertyes wyth hym to, suche as theyre dyscrecyon wyll allowe. And then to lye styll tyll he fynde them, is somtyme as mych penaunce to the tone, as the spyrituall iudge enioyneth to the tother. For the tone cometh to the barre as openly as the tother to the consystory / & somtyme hys fetters waye a good pyece

of a fagot, bysydes that they lye lenger on *the* tone mans legges, then the fagot on the tothers sholdre. And yet is there no remedye but bothe these muste be done, both in the tone courte and in the tother/or ellys in stede of one harme (whyche to hym that deserueth yt not happeneth seldome, and as seldome I am sure in heresy¹ as in thefte, & myche more seldome to) ye shall haue tenne tymes more harme happen dayly to folke as innocent as they / and of innocentis many made nocentes, to the destruccyon of them selfe and other to, bothe in goodes body and soule.

All this is analogous to the processes to which the Pacifier objects. Injustice occurs but rarely in either court—much more rarely in cases of heresy than of theft—and the attempt to remedy it would result in ten times more harm to innocent people.

And bycause this pacifyer taketh yt for so sore a thyng in the spyrytuall lawe, that a man shall be called *ex officio* for heresy, where he shall not know his accuser: yf we shold chaunge the spyrytuall lawe for that cause, then hadde we nede to chaunge the temporall to, in some suche poyntes as chaunge yt when ye wyll, and ye shall chaunge yt in to the worse for aught that I can se, but yf yt be better to haue mo theuys then fewer.

If we should change the spiritual law, we ought also to change the temporal; and the change would be for the worse.

For nowe yf a man be endyghted at a sessyons, & none euydens geuyn openly at the barre (as many be, and many may wel be. For thendytours maye haue euydence gyuen them a parte, or haue herde of the mater ere they cam there, & of whom be they not bounden to tell, but be rather bounden to kepe it close, for they be sworn to kepe the kynges counsaile and theyr owne) shall than the party that is endyghted be put vnto no busynesse about hys acquytale? And who shall tell him there the names of hys accusers, to entyle hym to hys wrytte of conspiracy? Thys pacyfyer wyll peraduenture say, that the same twelue men that are his endyghtours are hys accusours, and therfore he maye knowe them. But what helpeth that hys vnderued vexacyon yf he were fautelesse? For amendes the law geueth him none against any of theym, nor it were not well done he sholde / but may whan he is after

If a man is indicted at a sessions upon evidence which is not given openly at the bar, does he not have to bestir himself for his acquittal? And who shall tell him the names of his accusers to entitle him to his writ of conspiracy?

The Pacifier may say that the twelve men who indict him are his accusers. But how does that help his undeserved vexation if he is

¹ 'heresy': heresies '57.

guiltless? The law offers him no amends even if he is acquitted by the trial jury.

Though an innocent man may sometimes be indicted, it is comparatively seldom that the accused has given no occasion of suspicion.

If the Pacifier says that the temporal judge obviously acts only upon formal accusations brought before him, whereas the spiritual judge may at will summon any man against whom he bears a grudge, I answer that this objection may apply also to the jury, and that for my own part I would rather trust one judge than two juries. But the temporal judges wisely avoid a responsibility so invidious.

And I dare say that the ordinaries would as gladly avoid it if they were not compelled by a necessity.

Indeed a like necessity sometimes causes temporal judges to take similar action.

Are there no judges who, having sure in-

by other . xii . acquyte, go gette hym home and be mery that he hath had so fayre a daye / as a man getteth hym to the fyre & shaketh hys hatte after a shoure of rayne. And now as it often happeth, that a man cometh into a shoure by hys owne ouersyghte, though somtyme of chaunce and of aduenture: so surely though somtyme it happe that a man be accused or endyghted of malyce, or of some lykelyhed whyche happed hym of chaunce and not hys faute therin / yet happeth it in comparyson very selde, but that the party by some demeanure of hym selfe gyueth occasion that folke haue hym so suspected.

Now yf thys pacyfyer say, that yet here is at the leste wyse in a temporall iudge an open cause apperyng, wherevpon men maye see that the iudge calleth hym not, but vpon a mater broughte vnto hym / where as the spyrytuall iudge maye call a man vpon hys owne pleasure yf he bere the party dyspleasure: this is very well sayde as for the temporall iudge. But what sayth he now for the temporall . xii . men? For ye wote wel they may do the same yf they were so dysposed / & then had I as lyue the iudge might do yt as they. For in good fayth I neuer saw the day yet, but that I durst as well trust the trouth of one iudge as of two iuries. But the iudges be so wyse men, that for the auoydyinge of obloquye, they wyll not be put in the truste.

And I dare saye the ordynaryes be not so folysshe neyther, but that they wolde as fayne auoyde it to yf they myghte / sauynge that very necessity lest all sholde fall to nought, compelleth them to take thys waye / whyche necessity somtyme causeth also bothe the temporall iudges & the kynges counsaile, to put some foke¹ to busynesse or dyshonestye somtyme, wythout eyther iury or bryngynge of the accuser to the profe of the mater in the parties presence

For yf the iudge knowe by sure enformacyon, that some one man is of suche euyll demeanure amonge hys

¹ 'foke': folke *M*.

neighbours, that they may not bere it / & yet that the man is bysyde so violent and so iubardouse, that none of theym dare be a knowen to speke of it: wyll there no iudges vppon many secrete complayntes made vnto them, wythout makyng the partye preuy who tolde hym the tale, bynde that busy troubelouse man to good aberynge? I suppose yes, & haue sene it so to / and wrong wold it be sometyme wyth good pore peasyble folke in the cuntrey, but yf it were so done amonge. And my selfe whan I was chauncellour, vppon such secrett enformacyon haue put some out of commys-syon and offyce of iustyce of the peace, whyche ellys for mych money I wold not haue done and yet yf I were in the tone rome styll & they in the tother agayn, but yf they be mended (wherof I neyther than sawe nor yet here any lykelyhed) I wolde put them out agayne, and neuer tell them who told me the tales that made me so to do.

But yet wyll peraduenture thys pacyfyer saye, that some tyme in some very specyall case, he coulde be content that the spyrytuall iudge sholde vpon hys dyscrecyon call one for suspycyon of heresy *ex officio* / but he wolde not haue men comenly called but eyther by accusacyon or presentement in theyr senys or endyghtementes at the comon lawe. I had as lyefe for any thyng that I se, that thys pacyfyer sholde say thus: By this way that they be called I wolde not haue theym called / but I wolde haue them called after suche an order as they myght be sure that than sholde they neuer be called. For as for accuse¹ folke openly for heresy, euery man hath experyence inough, that ye shall seldome fynde any man that wyll / but yf the iudge sholde set an offyicer of the court therto wythout any perell of expensys / & than were thys way and that waye all of one effecte. And as for presentementes and endyghtementes, what effecte wolde come of theym concernyng heresy, ye se the profe I trow metely well all redy.

¹ 'accuse': taccuse '57.

formation of some crininal so desperate that none of his neighbours dare to appear openly against him, will, without revealing his accuser, bind him to good behaviour?

I have seen such things done; and if they were not done it would fare ill with peaceable persons in the country. As Chancellor I myself removed certain justices of the peace from office upon evidence given to me privately.

The Pacifier may consent that in very special cases suspected heretics be summoned *ex officio*, but commonly only by accusation or presentment, or indictments.

He may as well say: I will have them summoned by such processes that none shall ever be summoned.

In spite of the frequent opportunities for presentments of heresy, not one, I believe, has been made in the whole realm for some seven years.

Without inquiring curiously into the causes of this condition I will say that if the process *ex officio* should be abandoned,

heretics would soon multiply, the faith would be destroyed, and calamities would follow.

And therefore, for heresy, and especially at the present time, I advise men to suffer the processes *ex officio* to stand.

For thys is a thyng well knowen vnto euery man, that in euery sene, euery sessyon of peace, euery sessyon of gaole delyuery, euery lete thorough the realme, the fyrste thyng that the iury haue gyuen them in charge is heresy. And for all thys, thorowe the whole realme howe many presentementes be there made in the whole yere. I wene in some seuen yere not one. And I suppose no man dowsyth, but that in the meane tyme some there be. I wyll not be curyouse about the serchyng out of the cause, why it is eyther neuer or so very selde presented, not fyue in fyftene yere. But thys I saye, that syth some wyll not, some can not, and none dothe / yf he sholde putte a waye the processe *ex officio*, the thyng sholde be lefte vndone / and than shold soone after wyth heretykes encreaced & multiplyed, the fayth be vndone / & after *that* thorough the stroke of god reuengyng theyr malyce and our neglygence, sholde by sedycyon, & trouble, and derth, and deth, *in* this realme many men both good and badde be vndone. And therefore for conclusyon of this pyece, my pore aduyce and counsaile shalbe, that for heresy, and specyally now this tyme / men shall suffer the processes *ex officio* stande / & for as many other synnys also as are onely reformable by *the* spyrytuall lawe, excepte there be any suche synnys of them as ye thynke were good to growe.

The .xli. chapyter.

Pac.—In cases of heresy canon law admits as witnesses heretics that are accursed, and, under certain conditions, perjured persons.

‘AND yt appereth *de hereticis li. vi.* in the chapyter *In fidei fauorem*, that they that be accused and also parties to the same offence, maye be wytnesse in heresy: and in the chapyter *Accusatus perag. licet* / yt appereth, that yf a man be sworne to saye the trouthe concernynge heresy, as well of hym selfe as of other, and he fyrst confesseth nothyng, and after contrary to his fyrste sayenge he appeleth both hym selfe and other: yf yt appere by many-feste tokens, that he doth it not of lyghtnes of mynde, ne of hatered nor for corrupcyon of money: that then his

wytnesse in fauour of the fayth shall stande / as well agaynst hym selfe, as agaynst other: and yet yt appereth euydently in the same courte, and in the same mater, that he is a periured person.

'This is a daungerous lawe, and more lyke to cause vntrew & vnlawfull men to condempne innocentes, then to condempne offenders. And yt helpeth lyttell, that yf there be tokens, that yt is not done of hatered, nor for corrupcyon of money: that yt shulde be taken: for somtyme a wolfe may shewe hym selfe in the apperell of a lambe. And yf the iudge be parcyall, such tokens may be soner accepted then trewly shewed.'

Thys pyece concernynge the testimony of knowen euyl persons to be receyued and taken in heresy / I haue somewhat touched in the thyrde chapyter of the thyrde booke of my dyaloge / where syth they may rede it that wyll, I wyll make here no longe tale agayne therof. But well he woteth that heresy, wherby a chrysten man bycometh a false traytour to god, is in all lawes spyrytuall and temporall both, accompted as great a crime as is the treason commytted agaynst any worldly man. And than why shold we fynde so greate a fawte, that suche wytnesse sholde be receyued in a cause of heresy, as are receyued not onely in a cause of treason, but of murder also, and of other more synge felony / not onely in fauour of the prynce, and detestacyon of suche odyouse crimes, but also for the necesyte whych the nature of the mater wurketh in the profe. For sith euyl folke vse not to make good folke of their counsaile in doynge of theyr euyl dedes / those that are done, sholde passe vnpunysshed, and mo lyke be commytted a fresshe, but yf they were receyued for recordes to theyr condempnyng, that were of theyr counsaile and perteners to the doynge. whyche kynde of folke wyll not let to swere twyse naye, before they confesse onys ye / & yet theyr one ye more trewe vpon theyr bare worde, than theyr twyse naye vpon a solempne othe / and yet confesse they not so symply, but that it is

This is a dangerous law, likely to result in the condemnation rather of innocent persons than of offenders. The stated conditions are ineffective, for a wolf may show himself in the apparel of a lamb, and the judge may be partial.

More.— Since I have discussed this question in my *Dialogue*, I shall not say much upon it here.

But the Pacifier knows well that heresy is accounted, both in spiritual and in temporal laws, as great a crime as treason.

And such witnesses as he here disapproves are received in cases not only of treason but also of murder and certain other felonies.

For since evil men do not commonly confide their schemes to good men, many criminals would go unpunished unless their associates and partners in crime were received as witnesses.

Moreover the testimony of such witnesses

is often confirmed by circumstances.

comenly holpen wyth some suche cyrcumstaunces as make *the* mater more clere.

The Pacifier himself shows that the law provides safeguards for such testimony. And yet he says that the judge may be partial, and the witness may be a wolf showing himself (according to the Pacifier's flourish) 'in the apparel of a lamb.'

What procedure is not open to such objections? What place is there in which no one may say of a judge that he may be partial?

What witness is there against whom this fear of a wolf in a lamb's skin may not be urged?

Now se you well that as hym self sheweth, the lawe prouydeth well agaynste all lyghte receyuyng of suche confessyon. And yet thys pacyfyer sayth that all that helpeth lytle, bycause the iudge may be parcyall, and 'the wytnes may be a wolfe, shewyng him selfe apparelled in the apparell of a lambe', which apperynge in apparell, poore men that can not apparell theyr speche wyth apparell of rethoryke, vse comenly to call a woulfe in a lambes skynne.

But what order may serue agaynste suche obieccyons? what place is there in thys worlde spyrytuall or temporall, of whyche the iudge may not haue some say that he is, or at the lest wyse (as he sayth here) maye be parcyall? And therfore not onely such wytnesse sholde be by thys reason of his reiected, in heresy, treason, murder, or felony / but also by hys other reason of a woulfe in a lambys skynne, all maner of witnesse in euery mater. For in euery mater maye it happen, that he that semeth a lambe, maye be in dede a woulfe / and be nought where he semeth good / and swere false where he semeth to saye trewe. And therfore thys patche of thys pacyfyer concernyng wytnesses / euery wyse man may bere wytnesse that there is lytle wyt therin / and lesse good wolde growe therof, yf folke wolde folowe hys inuencyon, and make of the lawes a chaunge.

The .xlii. chapyter.

Pac. — In cases of heresy canon law also decrees that if the bishop sees that, by reason of the power of the persons accused, the accusers or witnesses are in grave danger, their names shall not be revealed to the accused.

'AND in *the* chapyter there, that begynneth *Statuta quedam*, yt is decreed / that yf the bishoppe or other enquerours of heresy, se that any great daunger myghte come to the accusours or wytnes of heresye by the great power of them that be accused: that then they may commaunde, that the names of the accusours or witnes shal not be shewed but to the bishoppe or enquerours / or such other lerned men as be called to them, and that

shall suffice / though they be not shewed to the partye. And for the more indempnytye of the sayde accusours and wytnesse yt is there decreed / that the bysshoppe or enquerours may enioyne such as they haue shewed the names of such wytnes vnto / to kepe them close vppon payn of excommunycacyon, for disclosyng that secrete wythout theyr lycens. And surely this is a sore lawe / that a man shall be condempned / and not knowe the names of them that be causers therof.

It is a severe law that allows a man to be condemned without knowing who his accusers are.

'And though the sayde lawe seme to be made vppon a good consyderacyon for the indempnytie of the accusours and witnes / yet yt semeth, that that consyderacyon can not suffice to proue the law reasonable. For yt semeth that the accusours & wytnes myght be saued fro daunger by a nother way, and that is by this way. If the byshoppe or enquerours drede, that the accusours and wytnes myght take hurt / as is sayde before: then myght they shew yt to the kynge and to his counsaile / besechyng his grace of helpe in that behalfe / to saue and defende the accusours and witnes fro the extort power of theym that be accused: And yf they wolde do so: yt is not to suppose / but that the kynge wolde sufficiently proude for theyr sauegarde. But for as myche as yt sholde seme / that spyrytuall men somewhat pretende to punyshe heresy es onely of their own power / wythout callyng for any assystence of the temporal power / therfore they make such lawes, as may helpe forth theyr purpose / as they thynke: but surely that is not the charytable way, to put the knowledge of the names of the accusours and wytnes fro hym that ys accused / for yf he knewe them / he myght percase alledge & proue so great and so vehement cause of rancour and malyce in them that accuse hym / that theyr sayenges¹ by no lawe ought not to stande agaynste hym. And that spyrytuall men pretende / that they onely shuld haue the hole inquiry and punyshement of

And though this law was apparently enacted out of consideration for the safety of the accusers, yet that consideration does not justify it; for their safety might be secured in another way.

The bishop might appeal to the king and his council to protect them.

But the clergy seem to be so jealous of their own power in punishing heretics that they would rather pass such laws than appeal to the temporal power for help.

Yet surely it is unjust to refuse to tell any man who his accusers are; for perhaps he might prove such cause of malice in them as would discredit their testimony in any court.

That the clergy claim that

¹'sayenges': saying '57.

they alone may inquire into and punish heresy will appear from two citations.

It would seem, then, that all justices of the peace in this realm are excommunicated: for they inquire into heresy both by authority of the King's commission and by statute.

If a metropolitan with all his clergy fell into heresy, it would be hard to find any redress without the temporal power.

More. — This law, which was not made without great cause, seems so harsh to this Pacifier that he devises another, which he thinks better.

But though his device might serve in England, it might fail in some lands—for example, in Germany; and those who made this law made it so that it would serve for all Christendom.

heresy / yt appereth *extra* the *heretices*¹ *li. vi. cap. Vt inquisitionis, perag. Prohibemus*: where all powers, and all lordes temporall and rulers be prohybyte / that they shall not in any maner take knoweledge or iudge vppon heresy / syth yt ys mere spyrytuall / and he that inquiryeth of heresy / taketh knoweledge of heresy. And so the somme called *Summa rosella* / taketh yt *titulo excommunicat. perag. iiij.* And yf that be trew, yt semeth then, that all iustices of peace in thys realme be excommunicate: for they by authoryte of the kynges commysyons and also by statute, enquiry of heresy. And I thynke yt is not in the chyrch to prohybyte that: for though yt were so / that the temporal men maye not iudge what is heresy and what not / yet they may / as yt semeth, by theyr owne authoryte enquiry of yt / and informe the ordynarye what they haue founde. And also yf a metropolytane with all his clergie and people of his dyocyse fell into heresy: yt wolde be harde to redresse yt wythout temporall power. And therfore temporall men be redye and are bounde to be redye to oppresse heresy, when they ryse: as spyrytuall men be. And therfore spyrytuall men may not take all the thanke to theym selfe / when heresy be punyshed / as though theyr charytie & power onely dyd yt, for they haue the fauour and helpe of temporall men to do yt / or els many times it wold not be brought aboute.

The prouysyon of the law that he speketh of, was made as appereth vppon a greate cause, in the aduoydynge of the great daungeour that myght in some specyall case happen to those, by whose meanes heresy be detected and conuycyed. But thys lawe thys pacifyer accompteth sore and vncherytable / and deuyseth as he thynketh a better. But his deuyce peraduenture though it wolde serue in some one lande, wolde yet not serue in some other / & they that made that law, made it as it myght serue moste generally thorow chrystendome / where as thys deuise though it myght serue in England,

¹*extra the heritices*: *extra. de hereticis* '57.

myght not haue serued well in many places of Almayne that are peruerted synnys, not euyn whyle *the* mater was in a mameryng before the chaunge was made.

But surely that lawe and other of olde made agaynste heresydes / yf they had bene in Almayne dewly folowed in *the* begynnyng, the mater hadde not there gone out at length to suche an vngracyouse endyng. And vndowtedly, yf the prynce, and prelates, & the noble men of this realme, & the good peple of the same, had not bene dylygent in the tyme of the prince of famous memory kyng Henry the .iiii. bothe to haue agaynste heresydes those lawes of the chyrch kepthe wyth whyche thys pacyfyer fyndeth now these fautes, and also to make greate prouisions agaynste it bysyde: it was than very lykely and comynge to the poynt, as vtterly to haue subuerted the fayth in thys realme here, as it hath done synnys in any parte of Swycherlande or Saxony.

And also the dowte that this pacyfyer putteth, *in* excepcyons to be layed by the party agaynste the accusours or wytnesse / syth the knowledge of the party lacketh, must be supplied the more effectually by the iudges, to enqyre and enserch by theyr wysedomes, whyther any suspycyon of euyll wyl or other corrupcyon, myghte lede the wytnesse or accusers any thyng to depose or do in the mater. wherin yf dylygence be by the iudges vsed / it wyll be very harde *that* any suche thyng sholde be of any weyght but they shall here therof, and maye consyder the mater accordyng.

And on the tother syde, the remedy that he deuyseth for the suretye of the wytnessys, sholde not peraduenture make the men so bold, as in a cause of heresy to medle in *the* mater, agaynste some maner of man / but that they rather wold for theyr owne surety, kepe theyr owne tonges styll, than wyth all the suretye that coulede be founden theym bysyde, haue theyr parsons dysclosed vnto the party.

And as touchyng the coniecture of thys pacyfyer, that the spyrytualy pretende that no ley man shold haue

But surely if such laws had been duly followed in Germany at first things would not have come to their present plight.

In our own land in the reign of Henry IV if prince, prelates, and people had not diligently enforced the laws and also made further provisions against heresy, the faith would doubtless have been as utterly subverted here as it has been in Saxony.

To the Pacifier's next objection I say that if the accused does not know who his accusers are, the judge must inquire the more carefully whether their motives are open to suspicion.

His device for the safety of witnesses would not make them so bold as to testify openly against some men for all his promised protection.

Despite his assertion that the clergy claim

the sole power to inquire into heresy, the laws both of this realm and of the whole Church for the suppression of heresy may well continue to stand together for aught that I can see.

the enquiry and punysshement of heresy: the lawes of thys realme and the lawes of the hole chyrche maye well stand togyther for awght that I se in theym bothe / and so haue they in these maters of heresy god be thanked hytherto full well. And therfore thys pacyfyer semeth me to bring in this mater to no greate purpose now, but yf it be eyther to set some deuysyon, or els to fyll vp the lefe. And therfore syth as I sayd before, I purpose not in any open englysh boke to ransake and rebuke eyther the tone lawe or the tother: I shall let hym with that mater alone.

The .xliii. chapyter.

Pac. — Yet my purpose is not to prove these laws wholly cruel and unreasonable, for strict laws ought rather to be made against actual heresy than against any other offence; and their rigour may be tempered by the discretion of the spiritual judges.

Under these laws, however, cruel judges might often punish innocent persons, though I trust that does not happen.

But the people believe that it does, and that the clergy punish heresy

largely to humble those who attack their worldly power and riches.

'NEuerthelesse myne entent is not to proue the sayde lawes all holly to be cruel and vnreasonable / for I knowe well / that yt is ryght expedyent, that strait lawes be made for punysshement of heresy, that be heresy in dede / more rather then any other offence / and that the dyscrecyon of the iudges spyrytuall may ryght well aswage the rygour of the sayde lawes, and vse them more fauorably agaynst theym that be innocentes / then agaynst them that be wylfull offendours / yf they wyll charytably serche for the trouth. But surely yf the sayde lawes shuld be put into the handelyng of cruell iudges, yt myght happen that they shulde many tymes punyshe innocentes, as well as offendours / but I truste in god, yt is not so. Neuerthelesse whyther yt be so or not, certayn it is / that there is a great rumour amonge the people that yt is so, and that spyrytual men punyshe not heresy onely for zeale of the fayth / and of a loue and a zeale to the people / wyth a fatherly pytye to theym that so offende as they ought to do, how great offenders so euer they be / but that they do yt rather to oppresse theym that speke any thyng agaynste the worldely power or ryches of spyrytuall men, or agaynste the great confederacy, that (as many men say) is in them to maynteyne yt.'

Nowe his entent is not he sayth, to proue the said lawes of the chyrche agaynste heresydes, wholly cruell and vnreasonable / but so myche of them as yt standeth not wyth hys pleasure to approue. And now he is content that strait lawes be made for punyshment of heresydes, suche as be heresydes in dede / wherein in this boke of his meaneth¹ two thynges. One, that he is content they be sore punyshed yf they be condempned. But fyrst he wolde haue them called by such meanes, as he seeth well they neuer shold be sent for. And then he wold exclude all such witnes as were likely to bywray them. And when that no man shall accuse them, nor no man be receyued that can proue yt agaynste them: then when the iudge can lawfully conuycyte theym, he wolde I trow be content that they were burned twyse / and so wold I wene them self be content to / for they shall be saufe I now² I warraunt you then.

More. — He does not object to the severe punishment of heretics. But, first, he would make such provisions that none would ever be summoned; and then he would exclude such witnesses as would be likely to betray them. And probably both he and the heretics themselves would consent that those who were lawfully condemned under such conditions should be burned twice.

yet a nother mystery he meaneth what so euer yt be, in those wordes, 'the punyshment of heresydes that be heresydes in dede' Here wolde he peraduenture haue euery heresy when these newe bretherne were taken therin, be brought in questyon agayne, and stand in controuersy whyther yt were heresy or not / and that were a nother good helpe for theym / as though the chyrch vsed to lay to theyr charges the spekyng agaynst some false faith / or at the lest wyse wolde proue them heretikes in speking agaynst some suche thynges as they had neuer herd of byfore.

His words about the 'punishment of heresydes that be heresydes in dede' perhaps imply that he would have every heresy in which the brethren are detected called in question and debated!

But now he sheweth why he doth not wholly condemne these lawes of the chyrche. But then *the* cause he sheweth to be such, as he by and by taketh yt away. For he layeth the cause to be, for that the iudges (yf they be good and charytable) maye by theyre wysedome and goodnes moder and temper the rygoure of the laws / but on the tother syde the euyll iudges may do by those lawes he sayth mych harme. But now what lawes are

He tells why he does not wholly condemn these laws; but as soon as he gives his reason he takes it away. For he says that, though their rigour may be tempered by good judges, it enables evil judges to do much harm.

¹ 'of his meaneth': of his, he meneth '57.

² 'I now': ynough '57.

Could he not say
so of any law?

there or maye there be, by the abuse of whych none euyl iudge may do harme.

After showing
what harm may
be done under
those laws by
a cruel iudge, he
says that he
trusts the spirit-
ual iudges are
not cruel. Lest
we should too
readily believe
him, however,
he adds that the
people say the
contrary.

But then to shewe that by these lawes of the chyrche, myche harme and lytle good or none coulde come / he handeleth it so that he wold make men wene, there were not a good indyfferent iudge in all the whole clergie. For when he hath shewed what hurt an euyl iudge and a cruell shold do by those lawes / he sayth *that* hym selfe trusteth the spyrytuall iudges be not suche. How be yt lest we sholde take hym at that word and byleue hym / he sheweth vs yet that the comen peple wyth a great rumour say the contrarye. And the thyng that he sayth here vnder the name of the people and great rumour / that sayth he in his fyrst chapyter vnder the name of many men. And yet immediatly before that / he sayth myche worse as of hym selfe / affermyng that many persones haue ben punyshed by the spyritualty for an euyl suspicyon and a false of theyr owne ymagynacyon, bycause those many persons so punysshed had byfore spoken onely agaynste spyrytuall mennys mysseorder and abusions / whyche poynt, honesty wolde he sholde haue proued fyrste, and then wryte yt after.

In what fol-
lows he implies
that no spiritual
iudge is im-
partial.

And nowe cometh he and couertely goth about to make men wene, that no spyrytuall iudges be indyfferent. For thus he sayth.

Pac.—Though
many of the
clergy possess
many great vir-
tues, it will be
hard to find one
who is not in-
fected with the
desire to haue
the worldly
honour of priests
exalted;

so, if a layman
report any evil of
a priest, though
it is notorious,
the clergy will be
more diligent to
silence the lay-
man than to re-
form the priest.

‘And though many spyrytuall men may be founde, that haue ryght many great vertues and great gyftes of god, as chastytie, lyberalytie, pacyence, sobernesse, temperaunce, connyng, and suche other / yet yt wyll be harde to fynde any one spyrytuall man / that is not infecte wyth the sayd desyre & affeccyon to haue the worldly honour of prestes exalted & preferred / and therefore yf any lay man reporte any euyl of a prest, though it be openly knowen that yt is as he sayeth / yet they wyll be more dilygent to cause the lay man to cease of that sayenge / then to do that in theym is to reforme

that is a mysse in the preste that is yt¹ spoken of, takynge as it were an occasyon to do the lesse in suche reformacyons/bycause laye men speke so myche agaynste them: But surely that wyll be none excuse to spyritual rulers afore god, when he shall aske accompt of his people, that were committed vnto theyr kepyng.'

If the best spyrytuall men be such as thys pacyfyer here sayth they be, than be they a very sherwde² sorte in dede, yf they be all so badde that it be harde to fynde any one, but that though any preste be so noughty that hys lewdnes is openly knowen, yet yf any ley man reporte it / the beste spyrytuall men wyll he sayth be more dylygent to cause the ley man ceace of hys sayeng, than to do theyr deuoyre to reforme the preste / ye and yet more then this, he sayeth they wyll do the lesse towarde the amendement of the preste, bycause ley men speke so myche of it. And thys sayth thys pacyfyer hym selfe, shewynge forth boldely therin hys own open face without any visour of some saye. And therfore syth he sayth this euen by the best / tyll he proue it somewhat better, thys shamefull tale is somewhat shamelesse dare I say / and somewhat is it folysh to, syth he saith therwith that those whyche thus wyll do, haue yet amonge many other great gyftes of god, pacyence, sobernesse, temperaunce, and cunnyng to. For I am sure yf they haue that condycyon, that they be so affeccyonat vnto euery euyl preste, that they can so euyl bere the dyspraye of his open knowen vnthriftynesse, that they wyll do the lesse towarde hys amendement, bycause ley men mych abhorre his lewdnesse: this pacyfier maye be pacyent I wyll not say nay, & may peraduenture haue myche connyng to / but surely eyther is this pacyfyer not very sober, or hath hys brayne otherwyse somewhat out of temper, if he take them (as he calleth them) for pacient folke or for temperate eyther.

More. — If this assertion is true, the best of the clergy are bad indeed.

The Pacifier makes it upon his own authority, showing his face boldly without any mask of some-say. But the assertion is as foolish as it is shameless. For he admits that many of the clergy have virtues that are obviously incompatible with the faults that he here imputes to all.

¹ 'is yt': it is '57.

² 'sherwde': shrewd '57.

The .xliiii. chapyter.

To bring them under greater odium, and, forsooth, to appease this division, he accuses them of leaguings together to rule the people and keep them under.

If he actually hated the clergy—and some say that he does—I do not know what more odious thing he could say.

Is there any class of people in this realm that might not be slandered similarly by ill-disposed persons?

He harps on the laws that our clergy have made as on a serious cause of this division. But he mentions several laws that are common to Christendom and that, if they were even worse than he says, could not reasonably be laid to the charge of our clergy.

AND yet to brynge the spyrytualty in *the* more hatered, & to make the name of the spyrytualtye the more odyouse amonge the people / thys pytuouse pacyfyer in dyuerse places of hys booke, to appease this dyuysyon withall, alledgeth agaynst theym that they make greate confederacyes amonge theym, to make & maynteyne a parte agaynst the temporaltye / and by suche confederacyes, and worldely polycyes, and strait correccyons, to rule the people and punysse them, and kepe them vnder. And thys poynte he bryngeth in here and there in dyuerse places, sometyme wyth a 'some say,' and somtyme wyth a 'they say,' and sometyme he sayeth it hym selfe. And I wote not well yf he hated the spyrytualtye in dede (as some saye he doth, and yet I truste he doth not) what more odyouse thyng he myght say. what any one kynde or sort of peple is there *in* this realme husbande men, artyfycers, marchauntes, men of lawe, iudges, knyghtes, lordes, or other, but that euyll dysposed people myght begyn agaynst them a sedycyouse murmure / castyng abrode a suspicyouse bablynge, of gatheryng, and assemblynge, and rownynge, and talkyng, and fynally confederynge togyther? and yet all such suspicyouse bablyng not worth a fether al togyther when it were well consydered.

But in sundry places mych he harpeth vppon the lawes of the chyrche / as though the spyrytuall lawes whyche the spyrytualty here haue made, were a grete cause of this dyuysyon. And than dyuerse of the lawes that he speketh of, be lawes not prouyncyall made by the clergy here, but the lawes vsuall thorow the whole chyrch of Cryst / wherof the makynge maye not be layed to theym / nor men are not therfore so vnreasonable (thoughe those lawes were lesse good thanne the greate wysedome of thys pacyfyer coulde deuysse) as to be angry for them with our clergy that made them not, but haue be bounde to kepe them.

And as for dyffamyng them with the abuse of those lawes towarde cruelty, as he dothe in hys boke / there is no great cunnyng in the makynge of that lye. For euery fole that lyst, maye deuysed and laye *the* lyke to some other folke whan he wyll.

Now as for theyr assembles and comyng to gether to the makynge of theyr lawes and constytucyons prouincyall / thys pacyfyer to laye those for any confederacyes, that sholde be now a cause of this so sodayne a late grudge & deuysyon, were a very farre fette inuencyon. For settinge a syde the dysputacyon, whyther those constytucyons be so vnreasonable as thys pacyfyer wold haue them seme / thys thyng suffyseth agaynst hym, *that* there is not I thynke verily any one prouyncyall constytucyon that he speketh of, that was made, or to any mannys gryefe or grudge put in executyon, in the tyme of any of all *the* prelates that are now lyuyng. And how could than any of them be any such confederacy or cause of thys late sprongen dyuysyon.

But I suppose he calleth those assemblynges at theyr conuocacyons, by the name of confederacyes. For but yf he so do / I wote nere what he meaneth by that worde. And on the tother syde yf he so do / for aught that I se he geueth a good thyng and an holsome, an odyouse heyghnouse name. For yf they dyd assemble ofter, and there dyd the thynges for whyche suche assembles of the clergy in euery prouynce thorow all crystendome from the begynnynge were instytute and deuysed / mych more good myght haue growen therof, then the long dysuse can suffer vs nowe to perceyue.

But as for my dayes as farre as I haue herd, nor as I suppose a good parte of my fathers neyther / they came neuer to gether to conuocacyon, but at the request of the king / and at theyr suche assembles concernynge spyrytuall thynges haue very lytle done. wherfore that they haue ben in that great necessary poynt of theyr dewty so neglygent, whyther god suffer to growe to a secret vnperceyued cause of dyuysyon and grudge

The assemblies of the clergy for their provincial legislation cannot be the 'confederacies' that he regards as one cause of the division. For, waiving the reasonableness of their constitutions, I believe that not one of those that he mentions was made, or grievously enforced, during the lifetime of any of our present prelates.

By 'confederacies' I suppose he must mean their convocations.

But if that is his meaning, he gives an odious name to a good thing.

For if the original purposes of such assemblies had been more diligently followed, more good than we can now perceive might have resulted.

For a long time they have not assembled in convocation except at the King's request, and on such occasions they have given little concern to spiritual things.

To my mind
this negligence
of theirs is more
serious than
some of the
faults that the
Pacifier alleges.

agaynste theym, god whome theyr suche neglygence hath I fere me sore offended, knoweth. But surely this hath in my mynde ben somewhat a greter faute in *the* spyrytualty, then dyuerse of those fautes whyche vnder his fygure of some say thys pacyfyer hath made very great in his boke.

But since the
convocations in-
volve no great
profit, but
rather labour
and expense, no
man need be-
grudge the
clergy such 'con-
federacies.'

But surely yf this pacyfyer call those assembles confederacyes / I wolde not greatly wyshe to be confederate wyth theym, and theyr assocyyate in any suche confederacyes. For I could neuer wyt theym yet assemble for any great wynnynge but come vppe to theyr trauayl, labour, coste, & payn, & tary and talke & cetera & so gete them home agayne. And therfore men nede not greatly to grudge or enuy them for any suche confederacyes.

The .xlv. chapyter.

Severe as the
Pacifier is with
the clergy, his
pity is ever on
the alert for ill-
treated heretics.

Having al-
ready asserted
that the clergy
have maliciously
punished many
merely for pro-
testing against
abuses, he now
inquires
whether they
have not pun-
ished some
whose only fault
was ignorance.

BUt what fautis so euer this pacyfyer fynde in the spyrytualty / yet of his tender pytye he hath euer a specyal eye to se that they shold not rygorously mysse handele such good men as are suspected or dedected of heresy. And therfore where as in other places he hath shewed byfore, *that* they haue punyshed many men of malyce, for onely spekyng agaynst theyr mysseorder and abusyons: now he *commeth* in the .viii. chapyter / & leste bysyde theyr malyce they myghte happen to punyshe them also for theyr owne ignoraunce, therfore he teacheth the spyrytuall iudges one great poynt con- cernyng heresy and sayth:

Pac. — Ac-
cording to the
doctors, error
does not prove
a man a heretic
unless it is
obstinately
defended.

And the
Summa Rosella
shows that a
man, in erring,
may even merit
praise—for ex-
ample, an ignor-
ant man who
obediently

'It is a comen opinion among doctours / that none is an heretyke for that onely that he erreth / but for that he defendeth opynatyuely his errour. And therfore he that erreth of symplycyte maye in no wyse be sayde an heretyque. And *Summa Rosella*, in the tyle *Hereticus in principio*, sayth / that a man may erre, and meryte therby: and he putteth this example. If a symple vn- lerned man heare the preachynge of his byshoppe, that preacheth happely agaynste the fayth / and he byleueth

yt wyth a redy mynde to obay: this man meryteth / and yet he erreth: but that is to be vnderstande where ignorance excuseth. Then yt semeth / that yt is not ynough to proue that a man is an heretyke, for that he hath holden opynyons agaynste that the chyrche teacheth, ne that he ought not to make any purgacion nor abiuracyon for yt: for that that he helde in suche case was not his fayth, but the fayth of the chyrche was hys fayth, though happely he were not then fully auysed of yt. And therefore saynt Aydan, when he held the wrong parte of keepyng of Easter, was no heretyke / and some say that saynt Chadde was of the same opynyon as saynt Aidan was / whych in lyke wyse was no heretyque / for their desyre was to knowe the treuth: and therefore it is not redde / that they made eyther purgacyon, or abiuracyon / ne yet the abbotte Ioachim / whyche neuerthelesse erred / for he was redy to submytte hym to the determynacyon of the chyrche / and therefore he was neyther holden as an heretyke / ne compelled to abiure. Then yf this be soth / yt were great pytye / yf yt shulde be trewe as is reported, that there shulde be so great a desyre in some spyrytual men to haue men abiured / or haue the extreme punyshment for heresy / as yt is sayd there is. For as some haue reported / yf any woll¹ wytnes, that a man hath spoken any thyng that is heresy / though he speke yt onely of an ignorance / or of a passyon / or yf he can by interrogatoryes and questyons be dryuen to confesse any thyng / that is prohybyted by the chyrch: anon they wyll dryue hym to abiure / or hold hym atteynted without examynyng the entent or cause of his sayenge / or whether he had a minde to be reformed or not: and that is a very sore way / our lorde be more mercyfull to our soules, then so greuously to punyshe vs for euery lyght defeaute.'

Thys processe were a prety pyece, and somewhat also to the purpose, yf thys pacyfyers doctoring were a good profe, that the spyrytuall iudges knew not this tale

accepts heretical doctrine preached by his bishop.

Saint Aidan and Saint Chad were not heretics, despite their error; for they desired to know the truth.

And we do not read that purification or abjuration was required of them, or of the Abbot Joachim, who, though he erred, was ready to submit to the judgment of the Church.

It is a pity that some of the clergy should be so eager (if report be true) to make men abjure their heresy, or to give them the extreme punishment, without inquiring whether the heresy was uttered in ignorance or in passion or under examination, or whether they were willing to be reformed.

More. — This would be a pretty piece of advice and somewhat to the

point if there
were any reason
to suppose that
the clergy
needed it.

before, nor wyste what appertayned vnto theyr parte in
thys mater, vntyll thys pacyfyer taughte them thys
greate secrete mystery sought out in *Summa rosella*, so
straunge a boke to fynde & so harde to vnderstande,
that very few men hadde medeled wyth it byfore.

But his pur-
pose is not so
much to teach
the clergy their
duty as to teach
us to believe all
the false tales
by which they
are belied.

But the tale is not so mych tolde of any pryde to
teache them, as of cheryte to teache vs, to take & byleue
for trew, euery false fayned tale wyth which any man
lyste to bylye them. For vppon thys lesson he bryngeth
in as you se hys cherytable infamacyon of the clergyes
crueltye / makynge men wene it were so, vnder his
fayre fygure of lamentacion, & great pytye that it were
yf it sholde be so / but yet it is (he sayth) reported so,
& some saye that it is so.

But surely some say agayne, that lyke as there is
nothyng so euyll, but that some maye happe to do it /
so is there nothyng so false, but some may happe to
saye it. And some other saye also that lyke as there is
nothyng so false, but some man may happe to saye it /
so can no man say any thing so false, but some man
vnder pretexte of pacyfyenge maye happe to repete &
reporte it.

Though this
eagerness in
punishing
heresy is im-
puted only to
'some spiritual
men',

For as for all that gaye reported tale that some
ley men say that some spyrytuall men haue 'so great
desyre to haue men abiured, or to haue extreme
punyshement for heresye, that yf any wyll wytnesse
that a man haue spoken any thyng that is heresye,
though he speke yt but of ignorauce or of a
passyon, or yf he can be dryuen by interrogatoryes and
questyons to confesse any thyng that ys prohybyted
by the chyrch / anon they wyll dryue hym to abiure, or
hold hym attaynted, wythout any farther consyderacion
of his entent or cause or whyther he wold be reformed
or not.' all this tale though he tell ty¹ but as yt were by
some spyrytuall men, yet is yt tolde to make all laye
men wene that those some spyrytuall men were so great
a somme, that it were some great cause of all this great

yet his words are
calculated to
make the laity
believe that
these 'some' are

¹ 'ty': yt M.

grudge and dyuysyon, whyche he sayth that the temporalte now hath in this realme agaynste the spyrytuallty in maner vnyuersally. wherein he maketh yet as I truste in maner an vnyuersall lye / syth I can yet se no such vnyuersall cause / & lest cause of all in this poynt specyally, whyche most specyally as *the* sorest & the moste cruell heyghnouse poynt, in sundry places of his boke this pacyfyer preacheth and preaceth vpon, that is to wyt the myshandelynge of men in *the* cause of heresy / making men wene wyth his heyghnouse handelynge, that the spyrytuall iudges in thys realme handeled that thyng so cruelly, that all the worlde had cause to wonder and grudge thereat.

But when all his holsome holy babelynge is done / euery man may se these thre thynges trew. Fyrst that syth in punysshynge of heresy, there is & a good while hath ben, so litle besynes in all the shyres of Englande and walys, bothe about examynacyon and punycyon of heretykes, excepte onely London and Essex, and those are both in one dyocyse / his some spyrytuall men that he wolde haue seme so great a somme, are yet of trouthe so few, that he semeth in maner to poynte them wyth his fynger, and myght as well in maner reherse them euyne by name.

Secundely of those same some so few / yet is there some so lerned to whome the mater moste specyally pertayneth, that yf this pacyfyer kepè no more connyng in his breste then he putteth out in his boke (as connyng as he weneth yt were) he is no more able to teache some one of those the lessons that longe to the mater, then he that lerned to spel, is able and mete to teache a good mayster in grammer to rede.

Thyrdely *that* al his whole tale of theyr great desyre of mens shame or harme, & of their mishandelynge of men, and of vncharitable dealyng, is a very false fayned tale / and so hath ben all redy proued & founden, in those *that* haue had there surmyse broughte forth vnto the tryall / and so shalbe proued agayne I doute yt not,

so many as to constitute an important cause of his almost universal division.

I can see no such universal cause; and I find least cause of all in the alleged ill-treatment of heretics.

When all is said, three facts remain obvious to every one. First, for a considerable time there has been so little punishing of heretics except in one diocese that his 'some spiritual men' must necessarily be very few and might as well be mentioned by name.

Secondly, of these few, some, who are specially concerned with these matters, are so learned that this Pacifier is hardly competent to instruct them.

Thirdly, the assertions about the clergy's uncharitable and malicious dealing are false, as has been proved in the cases that have been investigated, and will doubtless be

proved again as soon as this Pacifier leaves his generalities and species a single instance.

when so euer this pacyfyer wyll fall fro *the* babelyng of a generalty (wherin he may point & spyce a false tale wyth suspycouse wordes) and come to the namynge of any one person specyall, & byfore any folke indyfferent offer hym self to *the* profe.

Whoever he may name, it will be found that the judges in the case were not in need of his instruction, but were as much opposed as he is to harsh or unjust measures.

For lette hym come forth & name any one whom he wyll / and I warraunt you the dede shall shewe it selfe, that the spyrytuall iudges which had the mater in hande, were neyther suche as neded of thys pacyfyer to be taught what longed vnto ryght / nor were so malcyouse and cruell, but that they wolde be as loth as hym selfe to do them rygoure or wronge.

And he will find that those who have either abjured or been punished have not been tricked into confessing their heresies; and that their heresies have been well proved and serious—not the utterances of ignorance or simplicity.

And he shall fynde whom so euer he wyll name, that hath bene eyther punysshed or abiured, that the maters whych haue bene layed vnto theym, they haue not bene by any subtile questyons enduced to confesse them / but they haue ben both well proued agaynst them / and neyther haue bene sleighte, nor lyghte, nor so straunge artycles and vnknown, as they myght therin of ignorance or symplycyte so sore ouershote theym selfe.

If this Pacifier will have no man punished for anything said or done in a passion, his pity will often do much harm by taking away the punishment, the fear of which is intended to restrain the passion.

But where thys pacyfyer speketh of passyons & of wyllynge to be reformed: surely yf he wyll so lyghtely perdon all passyons, that he wyll haue no man punysshed for any thyng done or sayd in a passyon, than shall hys pytuouse affeccion many tymes do mych harme, by the takynge awaye of the punysshement wherof *the* fere is ordayned to refrayn the passyon, and to make other also forbere the lyke for any suche maner passyon.

For by one damnable passion or another, men fall into adultery, manslaughter, treason, heresy, and sometimes into downright frenzy.

In their passions of heresy men rail against sacred things and blaspheme

For well ye wote, men fall in aduowtry thorow such dampnable passyons. And by the passyon of ire and angre, men fal into manslaughter. And by a passyon of pryde, many a man falleth to treason. And by the same passyon also, men fall into heresy, and sometyme ye wote well fall in a playne fransye to. And in theyr passyons of heresy, they speke vngracyously, & contende agaynst the sacramentes, and blaspheme our blessed lady, and our sauour hym selfe also, & horribly

dyspyse *the* holy howsell, and make mockes and mowys of the masse, & rayle on Crystes owne blessed body and bloude in the blessed sacrament. wyll thys pacyfyer that all these blasphemouse dampnable heretykes shalbe spared, for such desperat dampnable passyons? If that way were allowed / than were that heretyke most sure, *that* agaynst all the fayth most could rayle and rage. For than myghte it be sayd, that the man was in a greate passyon.

Our Lady and Christ himself.

If the Pacifier would excuse such outbreaks as due to passion, then the heretic who railed most against the faith would be safest; for it might be said that he was in a great passion.

Now as for wylling to be reformed / I dare say that the spyrytuall iudges wold gladly se euery man, and therin wolde gladly shewe them all the fauour they coulede, but somtyme they can not shewe all the fauour that they fayne wolde. For though they maye receyue hym and saue his lyfe at the fyrst tyme: yet are they streyghted by the playne law that they may not so do at the seconde, whan the man is relapsed.

The judges would gladly see every man willing to be reformed and would then gladly show him every favour, but they cannot always do so; for the law strictly forbids them to spare a relapsed heretic.

And the lawes haue determyned who shall be taken & reputed for an heretyke, and who not, as well as thys pacyfyer can teache vs, & a lytell better to. And they haue both had a respecte and a sure eye to prouyde, that neyther innocentes or playne symple folke sholde be for any sleight offence sore handeled or vntrewly circumented and punysshed / nor that wyly false wreched heretykes, sholde by crafte & sophems be suffered to seme wyse among vnlearned peple, and fayne simplycyte and say they repente, and so be sente awaye lyghtely, to go teache theyr heresyas and sow theyr poyson into mennys soulys agayne.

The laws have determined who shall, and who shall not, be taken for heretics, and have made provision both for the security of the simple-minded and for the detection and punishment of the crafty.

For yf that way were taken whych it semeth that this pacyfyer wolde haue, that euery man myghte be holde excused that wolde saye he spake heresyas of ignoraunce, or of ouersyghte, or of simplycyte, or of a passyon, or whyche as often as he wolde not defende his heresyas and stobornly stycke therto, or though he dyd for the whyle, wolde afterwarde yet offer to be reformed, and promyse *that* he wolde amende: yf all these I saye sholde all waye passe vnpunysshed, the chyrche of Cryste at

For if, by the Pacifier's advice, the court should excuse every man who accounted for his heresy as due to ignorance or oversight or simplicity or passion, or who would promise to amend, all Christendom would shortly find what fruit would grow therefrom.

the making of the lawes foresawe, and all chrystendome sholde shortly fynde, how lytel frute wolde growe therof.

A partial summary of the Pacifier's argument.

And whan thys pacyfyer hath tolde thus, myche myssehandelynge and crueltye of the clergy, wherin yf he sayde trew it towched yet very few, and hath proued it by a some saye of as fewe / and fyndeth some such thynges for fautes as yf they were chaunged after the fasshyon of hys boke, wolde of heretykes in many places for a very few make a very greate many / & the lyes that heretykes of malice blow about agaynst theyr iudges, laboreth to make men byleue them for trewe, by hys repetynge and reportyng vnder a pretext of cheryte: than endeth he that paynted processe with his deuout prayour full holyly and sayth, 'This is a very sore way / our lorde be more mercyfull to our soules, then so greuously to punyshe vs for euery lyght defaute.'

He prays that God be more merciful than the clergy.

When he has proved his evil devices good and his falsehoods true, then let him pray.

Meanwhile, the good men whom he is slandering pray that God be more merciful to him than he is to other men.

whan he hath proued those euyll deuyses good, and those false lyes trewe / than let thys good syr Iohan Some saye take hys portuouse and hys bedys and praye. But in the meane whyle those good men whome by suche fygyrys and such holy pretextes, he goeth aboute vngodly to dyffame / do earnestely praye god for him, to gyue hym the grace to chaunge thys euyll fasshyon and thys very sore waye. And they praye god hartely to be more mercyfull to thys pacyfyers pore soule, than thys pacyfyer is to other mennys / whose soulys (byleue hym self neuer so well, and meane he neuer so well therwyth) yet hys booke goeth aboute by sowynge of dyssensyon and emboldyng of heretykes, to enfecte and enuenome wyth a grudge & hateded agaynst the spyrytualty, and wyth the cankar of pestylent poysened heresydes / & all agaynst the theyr owne saluacyon.

The .xlvi. chapyter.

This Sir John Some say proceeds to further encouragement of heretics.

FOR here shall ye se to the ferther encoragyng of heretykes, what an other goodly Some say thys good syr Iohan Some saye fyndeth Lo thus he sayth.

'And here some say / that bycause there is so great a desyre in spyrytuall men, to haue men abiure, and to be noted with heresy / and that some as yt were of a polycye do noyse yt / that the realme is full of heretykes, more then yt is in dede: that it is very peryllouse / that spyrytuall men shulde haue authorytie to arrest a man for euery lyght suspeccon, or complaynte of heresy / tyll that desyre of punysshement in spyrytuall men be ceased and gone: but that they shulde make processe agaynste them to brynge theym in vppon payne of cursynge: and then, yf they tarye fourty dayes / the kynges lawes to bryng them in by a wryt *De excommunicato capiendo*, and so to be brought forth out of the kynges Gaole to answere. But surely, as yt is somewhat touched before in the . vij . chapyter, yt semeth that the chyrche in tyme paste hath done what they coulde to brynge about, that they myghte punyshe heresy of them selfe / wythout callynge for any helpe therin of the seculer power.

Pac. — Some say that since the clergy are so eager to detect heresy, and since some of them from policy exaggerate the number of heretics, their authority to arrest any man upon slight suspicion or complaint will remain a great peril until their attitude be changed.

Other. processes suggested.

The clergy seem unwilling to accept aid in these matters from the secular arm.

'And therfore they haue made lawes that heretykes myght be arrested & putte in pryson, and stokes yf nede were / as appereth *Clementinis de hereticis. Capi. Multorum querela*. And after at the specyall callyng on of the spyritualty / it was enacted by parlyament / that ordynaryes myghte areste men for heresy: for some men thynke, that the sayde Clementyne was not of effecte in the kynges lawe to arest any man for heresy: but if a man were openly and notably suspected of heresy, and that there were suffycient recorde and wytnes agaynst hym / and there were also a dout that he wolde flee & not appere / wherby he myght infect other: yt semeth conuenyent that he be arrested by the bodye: but not vpon euery lyght complaynt, that full lightly may be vntrew. And yt wyll be right expedyent that the kynges hyghnes and hys counsaile loke specyally vppon thys mater / and not to cease / tyll yt be broughte to more quyetnes then yt is yet, and to se wyth great dylygence, that pryde, couetyse,

Canon law, therefore, sanctions the arrest, imprisonment, and stocking of heretics.

And at the instigation of the clergy Parliament confirmed their power.

If a notorious suspect, against whom there is sufficient evidence, seems likely to escape and infect others, he should be arrested; but such power should not be exercised upon every slight complaint.

The King and his council ought to look into this matter and provide that no proud, covetous, or worldly

men be iudges, that no innocents persons be punished, and no wilful offenders escape punishment.

More. --- Who could end an argument more fruitfully?

But the provisions which he suggests to the King and his council are the following: first, that no proud, covetous, or worldly men be iudges in cases of heresy;

and secondly, that bishops order no arrests for heresy until the clergy cease to desire to punish men for heresy.

No doubt these devices will protect the innocent, but I fear they will not provide half so well for the punishment of wilful offenders.

If he disallow only those men who are excessively proud, covetous, or worldly, then until he prove the present judges to be such — and prove it more convincingly than by some says — the King and his council can see no reason to remove them.

nor worldly loue be no iudges, nor innocentes be punyshed, ne yet that wylfull offenders go not wythoute dewe correccyon.'

In this processe lo good readers this pacyfyer declareth, that he wold haue the kynges hyghnes and his counsayle so specyally loke vpon this mater, that neyther innocentes sholde be punyshed, nor yet wylfull offenders go without dewe correccyon. who coulde ende and conlude all his mater more frutefully?

But now the specyall ways wherby he deuyseth, that the kynges hyghnes and his counsayle sholde bryng this thyng about / be twayne.

The tone is, yf they prouyde that neyther men that be proude nor couetouse, nor haue any loue to the worlde, be suffered to be iudges in any cause of heresy.

The tother is, that the bysshoppes shall arrest no man for heresy, tyll the desyre that spyrytuall men haue to cause men abiure heresy and to punyshe them for heresy, be ceased and gone.

And surely I thinke that his two dyuises will serue suffyciently for the tone parte / that ys to wyt that none innocentes shalbe punyshed. But I fere me very sore, that they wyll not serue halfe so suffyciently for the tother parte, *that* is to wyt that wylfull offendours go not wythout correccyon.

For now to begynne wyth his fyrst dyuyce, *that* none be suffered to be iudges in cause of heresy, that are proude, or couetouse, or haue loue to the worlde / yf he meane of suche as haue none of these affeccyons wyth notable enormyte, then tyll he proue theym that are all redy worse then he proueth theym yet / that is to say tyll he proue yt otherwyse by some of theyr outragouse dedes in the dealyng and myshandelyng of men for heresy, that he here defameth them of, then he hath yet proued, & that he proue theyre cruell wrongfull dealyng, otherwise then by some sayes, or by his owne sayenge: the kynges hyghnes and his counsayle can se for al his holesome counsayle, no cause to chaunge those

iudges that are all redy, but to leue them styll / and then serueth that diuycce of nought

And on the other syde, yf he meane that *the* kynges hyghnesse shal suffer none to be iudges in cause of heresy, that hath any spyce at all, eyther of pryde, or of couetyse, or any loue at all vnto this worlde: heretyques may syt styll and make mery for a lytle season, whyle men walke aboute and seke for suche iudges. For yt wyll not be lesse then one whole wekes worke I wene, both to fynde such, and to be sure that they be suche.

On the other hand, if he admit only those who have no spice of pride, covetousness, or worldliness, heretics may make merry for a season, while men search for such judges.

And yt wyll be somewhat the more harde, bycause that where as men wolde haue went soneste to haue founde them, there this pacifyer hath put vs out of dout, that there shall yt be merurylous¹ harde to fynde any one of them / that is to wytte in any parte of the spyrytualty, prelates, seculer prestes, or relygyouse persons, any one or other. For he sayth playnely that haue they neuer so many vertues bysyde / yet yt wyll be hard to fynd any one spyrituall man, but that he is so infected with desyre and affeccyon to haue the worldly honour of prestes exalted, that he is thorowe suche pryde farre fro suche indifferēce & equitye, as ought & muste be in those iudges that this pacyfyer assygneth, whyche muste haue no spyce of pryde, couetyse, nor loue towarde the worlde. And then syth in all the spyrytualtye yt wyll be as he sayth harde to fynde any one / yt wyll be ye wote well twyse as harde to fynde twayne / and yet be they to few for all *the* realme though they were made iustices of Ayer.²

Among the clergy, where men would have expected to find them soonest, this Pacifier assures us it will be hard to find even one.

Nowe yf it wyll be so harde to fynde any one suche in the spyrytualtye / I can scant beleue but that it wold be somewhat a do to finde many such in the temporaltye eyther / & specyally not onely suche but those also that *the* kyng myght be sure to be suche / bysydes that there must be than many chaunges and many newe deuyses of lawes for *the* mater, bycause fewe temporall men be suffy-

And if that be true, I can scarcely believe that it will be easy to find many such judges among the laity, especially since few laymen are sufficiently learned in canon law to be qualified for

¹ 'merurylous': merueylous '57.

² 'Ayer': Oyer '57.

the office, and these few may not happen to be the ones who have no spice of pride, covetousness, or worldliness. So the heretics would be likely to enjoy a long season of merry-making.

cyently lerned in those lawes of the chyrche, by whych that mater hath bene accustomed to be ordered before. And happely yf any such men be so suffycyently lerned / yet is it possyble that those men whiche are so lerned, are not those *that* are so pure and clene frome euery spyce of pryde, couetyse & worldly loue. And therefore were *the* heretykes lykely thus to make mery a good whyle, before there sholde be founden good iudges for them.

If innocent persons are to be protected by the provision that no arrests be made by bishops, they may be further protected by the provision that no arrests be made at all.

Now as for the tother poynt, that bysshoppes sholde not arreste them / thys wolde also helpe to the surety of innocentes, as frome any trouble of suyt / & so wyll it also ferther, yf neyther bysshop nor kynge arrest them. And in lyke wyse wyll it saue innocentes from *the* trouble of all false endyghtementes, yf no man shold be neyther for no felony arrested nor endyghted neyther.

But since these means would hardly be effective in securing the punishment of wilful offenders, innocent persons might thus suffer more than they do now.

But than thys waye wold not well serue for the tother syde, that wyfull offenders sholde not passe vnpunysshed. And therby syth it wold helpe wyfull offendours to passe wythoute punysshement / it myghte happe to punyshe innocentes more sore, than shold the trouble of suyt & wrongfull arrestyng do.

He would not permanently deprive the bishops of their present power of arrest, but would suspend it until the clergy no longer have so great a desyre to punish men for heresy—as though he had proved that they had such a desyre by alleging that some men say so!

But yet is thys pacyfyer not so fauourable towarde folke suspected of heresy, as to take away the power of the bysshoppe for euer, of arrestyng them, and to dryue the ordynaries for euer to sue cytacyons agaynst heretykes and processe of excommunicacyon / but wyll haue he sayth the bysshoppes power of arrestyng no lenger suspended, than as longe as spyrytuall men haue that greate desyre to cause men abiure or to haue them punysshed for heresy / as though he had wel proued that they haue so, bycause he sayth that some men saye so.

If some-says do not suffice for proof, his case is lost; if they do, the suspension will be for ever.

But now yf Some say be no suffycyent profe / than is hys tale loste. For than he sheweth no cause why that power of theyrs shold in any cause be more supended now, than in any tyme here before. And on *the* tother syde, yf some saye be a good profe / than the suspend-

ynge wyll be as long as a depriuynge for euer, syth there shall neuer be any tyme in whyche there shall lake one or other some say to say more than trouth.

yet is he content at the last, lest euery man myghte spy the perell of hys deuyce, to tempere hys deuyce in suche wyse, that tyll the spyritualty haue lefte theyr cruell desyre of abiuryng and punyshyng folke for heresy, they sholde not be suffred to arreste folke for euery lyght suspycyon, or euery complaynt of heresy. How be it he graunteth that where one is openly and notably suspected of heresy, and sufficyent recorde and wytnes agaynste hym, and bysydes all that, a dowte that he wold fle wherby he myghte enfecte other: than he graunteth it conuenient that he sholde be arrested by *the* body. And therin he bryngeth in the Clementine and the statute, by which the ordynaries haue power to arreste folke for suspycyon of heresy / and wold as farre as I perceyue, haue the kynge reforme *them* after his deuyce. But yet syth which is a lyght suspycyon, and whyche is an heuy / and whyche is a lyght complaynte, and which is an heuy / and whyche is an open suspycyon, and whyche but a preuy, and whyche suspycyon is notable, and whyche is not notable, & whyche wytnesses be sufficyent, and whyche be not sufficyent, be thynges that must be wayed by the spyrytuall iudges / and vpon theyr wayenge of *the* mater for lyght or heuy, must folow the arrestynge of the party or the leuyng of the arreste: we be come agayne as in a mase to the poynt where we beganne, that be the mater greate or smale, leste all the whyle they be cruell they sholde iudge lyght heuy and smale greate, theyr arrestynge of any at all muste be suspended fro them, and sende them to sue by cytacyon, tyll menne se that same mynde of theyrs of desyrynge mennys abiuracyon and punyshement vtterly chaunged and ceace / that is to saye tyll there be no man left that wyll so myche as saye that some men saye that they haue not lefte that mynde yet, & make a lye agayne of them than, as those some haue done that haue so sayde

Finally he concedes to the bishops a limited power of arrest, providing the suspect be notorious, the evidence against him sufficient, and his escape probable.

But since they must, as spiritual judges, determine whether these conditions are fulfilled in any given case,

we return as in a maze to the point where we began; for, lest they determine unjustly, their power of arrest must be suspended, and they must be compelled to sue by citation

until there is left no one who will report that 'some men say' the clergy's attitude has not changed.

all redy to syr Iohan some saye now. And longe wyll it be I warraunt you ere euer all suche folke fayle.

And since, by his device, heretics may mean while go about without arrest, I cannot believe that the wilful offenders among them will be punished.

And therfore syth in the meane season by thys pacyfyers good deuysse, heretykes may go vnarrested / I can not byleue that yf hys waye were folowed, it wold be any good mene to make that wyllfull offenders in heresy sholde not passe vnpunysshed, as fast as bothe in the ende of thys chapiter and the¹ tother before also, he calleth vppon the kynges hyghnes and hys counsayle and hys parleament, to loke vppon thys mater after hys good aduertysement, and neuer ceace tyll they brynge it to effecte.

If, as I do not doubt, the King will assist the clergy in executing the present laws against heresy, and command every temporal officer to do the same, I am sure that the innocent will be protected, and the guilty punished.

I lytle doute but that yf the kinges hyghnesse do as I doute not but hys hyghnesse wyll do, maynteyne & assyste the spyrytualty in executynge of the lawes, euynt those that are all redy made agaynst heresy / and commaunde euery temporall offycer vnder hym to do the same for hys parte: though there were neuer mo newe lawes made therfore, yet shall both innocentes be saued harmelesse well ynough, and offendours punysshed to.

The .xlvii. chaptyer.

Though the Pacifier accuses the clergy of exaggerating the number of heretics from policy, I cannot believe that any politic man among them would so encourage heretics and discourage Catholics.

But I know that the heretics noise such exaggerations abroad in the hope of intimidating the ordinaries and their officers.

NOW where as this pacyfyer sayth, that some of the spyrytualty as of polycy do noyse yt, that the realm ys full of heretikes more then yt is in dede: I thynke there is no polytyque man of the spyrytualty that wyll make that noyse, wherby the heretikes might be the more bold, and the catholiques more inclynable to the worse parte, and the more faynte and feble in the fayth.

But I know this very well that heretyques haue made that noyse, both for the cause afore sayde, and also to fere the ordynaries therwith, and to put theyr offycers in drede from doynge of theyr offyce. And peraduenture vpon such noyse some offycers haue ben aferd. And at the leste wyse I wote well, some heretyques haue ben so bolde, that they haue not fered

¹and the': and in the '57.

to flocke to gether / not all at the fyrste for heresy, but some fall in among them for good companye, to do some shrewd turne they cared not greatly what / but afterward wyth a lytle more acquayntaunce and communycacyon, haue fallen into theyr heresydes also. And suche noyses be some tyme for the aduantage and fortherans of them that entende vnhappynes, to make folke wene they were very many, be they neuer so few.

And such rumours are sometimes of advantage to those who intend to make mischief.

I remember many tymes that euen here in London, after the gret besynes that was there on a May daye in the mornynge, by a rysyng made agaynst straungers / for whyche dyuerse of the prentyses & iourney men suffered execucyon of treason, by an olde statute made longe byfore, agaynst al such as wold violat the kynges saufconducte: I was apoynted among other to serche oute and enquire by dylygent examynacyon, in what wyse and by what persons, that pryuy confederacy beganne. And in good fayth after great tyme taken, and myche dilygence vsed therin / we perfytly tryed out at laste, that all that bysynes of any rysynge to be made for the mater, byganne onely by the conspyracy of two yonge laddes that were prentyses in chepe. whyche after the thyng dyuysed fyrste and compaced betwene theym twayne, perused pryuyly the iourneymen fyrste, and after the prentyses, of many of the meane craftes in the cytye / beryng the fyrst that they spake wyth in hand, that they hadde secretly spoken wyth many other occupacyons all redy, and that they were all agreed therunto / and that bysydes theym there were two or thre hundred of seruyng men of dyuers lordes houses, and some of the kynges to, whyche wolde not be named nor knowen, that wolde yet in the nyght be at hande / and when they were ones vppe, wolde not fayll to fall in wyth them and take theyr parte.

After the rioting on 'Evil May-day' here in London,

I was appointed among others to inquire into the matter.

After long investigation we finally discovered that the trouble began with the plotting of two young apprentices,

who privately approached first the journeymen and then the apprentices of many crafts, making the first group they approached believe that hundreds of men were already in the plot.

Now this vngracyouse inuencyon and these wordes of those two lewde laddes (whyche yet in the besynesse fledde away theym selfe, and neuer came agayne after) dyd putte some other by theyr ouersight and lightnes

The words of these two lads, who fled at the beginning of the trouble, involved imprudent and fickle men in their reckless scheme.

in such a corage & boldenes, that they wende them self able to auenge theyr dyspleasure in the nyght / & after either neuer to be knowen, or to be strong ynough to bere yt out and go farther.

These 'evangelical brethren' follow a similar policy.

Some of them, after wandering about the realm and succeeding here and there, perhaps, in bringing a few into the brotherhood, will not scruple to say that more than half of every shire is of their sect. But Bayfield, who boasted thus, found none to rescue him.

And the lyke vngracyouse polycy dyuise now these heretyques that call them self euangelycall bretherne / some potheded postles they haue, that wander about the realme into sundry shyres, of whome euery one hath in euery shyre a dyuerse name / and some peraduenture in corners here and there they brynge into the bretherhed. But whyther they gete any or none, they let not to lye when they come home, and say that more then halfe of euery shyre is of theyr own secte. And the same boste Bayfelde thapostata whyche was after burned in Smythfelde, made vnto myne owne selfe. But blessed be god whan he came to the fyre, he fownd none very redy to pull hym fro it.

Recently, however, in the diocese of London, a hundred or more of the brotherhood made an open attempt by day to rescue a notorious heretic from the ordinary.

How be it there was in one place of the dyocyse of London but late, a company that by such meanes eche encoraging other, toke suche harte and boldenes, and openly by day they ensembled them selfe togyther to the number of an hundred or aboue, to rescue a well known open heretyke out of the ordynaryes handes. Howe be it as many as they were they spedde not, & some of them punysshed after.

And in the same diocese also on one occasion a commissary was threatened with mob violence if he would not release a priest who was being held for heresy;

And in the same dyocise also, when there was a preste taken for heresye, and in the commysaryes handes / worde was brought hym that excepte he delyuered the preste and lette hym go, he sholde within two howres haue . ii . or . iii . hundred come fet hym, that wold pluck down his house or burn it ouer hys hed. wheruppon the commissary wers afraied then hurte, delyuered out the preste / whom yf he had keppe styll, there wolde peraduenture for all the crakes, not one heretyke of them all haue ben so bolde to come fette hym. But yet that could I not well haue warraunted hym.

and on another occasion some of the brethren

And in some place of the same dyocise also, they haue made a greate face, and sayd that though the kynge

sente hys commysseyon vnder hys great seale therfore / they wold not suffer a sore suspected preste of theys for heresy to be taken thense. How be it when that after I sealed a commissyon and sent it vppon the assaye, it made theyr hartes (god be thanked) faynted and were so well come downe, that they layed all the wyght¹ to a fewe lewde felowes and women in the towne.

made a boast that they would not allow a certain suspected priest to be taken even if the King sent a commission under the Great Seal for the arrest. But they failed to make good their boast.

And therfore boste & bragge these blessed bretherne neuer so fast, they fele full well them selfe, that they be to feble in what cuntrey so euer they be strengest. For yf they thought theym selfe able to mete and matche the catholykes / they wolde not I wene lye styll in reste thre dayes.

Howeuer much they brag, they find themselves weak even in those districts where their strength is greatest. Otherwise they would rise in open rebellion as they have done elsewhere. Indeed through negligence things might come to such a pass here.

For in all places where heresy haue sprongen hytherto so hath it euer proued yet. And surely so negligently myght it be handeled, and the mater so longe forslowthed, *that* at length in tyme so myght it happe here to. And verily that they loke onys therfore (as farre as they be yet fro the power) some of them haue not lette to say, nor some to wryte it neyther. For I redde the letter my selfe which was cast into the palyce of *the* ryght reuerende fater in god Cuthbert now bysshop of Durham, and at that tyme bysshop of London / in whyche amonge many other bragyng wordes mete what so euer they were for those heretyke bretherne that made it, were these wordes conteyned.

And it is certain, both from their remarks and from a letter that was sent to the Bishop of London, that they are already looking forward to a day of violence,

There wyll onys come a day.

And out of questyon that day they not onely longe for, but also dayly loke for / and wold if they were not to weke not fayle to fynde it / & in some mornyng erly lyke good thryuyng husbandes, aryse by them selfe vncalled, as they sodaynly dyd in Basyll.

such as occurred at Basel.

And the greter hope haue they, bycause in places where they fall in company, men vse them not now adayes as the tyme was when they dyd. For they se that it begynneth almost to growe in custume, that amonge good catholyke folke, yet be they suffred boldely to

They are the more hopeful because they find themselves tolerated now far more than in the past.

¹ 'wyght': weight '57.

Though such tolerance is far from commendable, it frequently results from the confidence that good men have in the strength of the Catholic faith.

That faith may be likened to the land, and the heretical attacks upon it to the encroachments of the sea.

We may suffer from over-confidence, as a good man sometimes does at the law when a false action is brought against him.

Confident that his rights are as obvious to every one else as they are to himself, he neglects to make preparations for the trial.

But his adversary is meanwhile busy with crafty devices.

talke vnchekked. whiche thyng all be it farre from commendable, yet wyth many folke it happeth vppon a good surety, that good men in theyr owne mynde conceyue of the strength and fastnes of the catholyke fayth / whyche they verely thynke so strong, that heretykes for all theyr bablynge shall neuer be able to vaynquyshe. And therein vndoutedly theyr mynde is not onely good but also very trewe. But they thynke not farre enough. For as the see shall neuer surunde and ouerwhelme all the lande, and yet hath it eaten many places in, and swallowed hole cuntrees vppe, and made many places nowe see that somtyme were well inhabyted landes, & hath lost parte of hys owne possessyon in other partes agayne: so though the fayth of Cryste shall neuer be ouerflowen with heresy, nor the gates of hell preuayle agaynste Crystes chyrche / yet as in some places it wynneth in new people, so maye there in some places by neglygence be lost tholde.

For yf that we bycause we know our cause so good, bere our selfe theruppon so bolde, that we make lyght & sleight of our aduersaryes: it maye happen to fare bytwene the catholykes and heretykes at length, as it fareth somtyme in a suyte at the lawe by some good man, agaynst whome a suttile wily shrew begynneth a false accyon, and asketh from hym all the lande he hath. Thys good man somtyme that knoweth hys mater so trew, persuadeth to hym selfe that it were not possyble for hym to lese it by the law. And when hys counsaile talketh wyth hym, & asketh hym how he can proue thys poynt or *that*, for hym selfe / answereth agayne, feare ye not for that syr, I warraunt you / all the whole cuntrey knoweth it / the mater is so trew, and my part so playne, *that* I care not what iudges, what arbytrours, what . xii . men go theron. I wyl challenge no man for any labour that myne aduersary can make therin. And wyth suche good hope / the good man goeth hym home, & there sytteth styll and putteth no doubt in the mater. But in the meane whyle hys aduersary (which for lacke of

treuth of hys cause, must nedes put all hys truste in crafte) goeth abouth¹ his mater busely, and by all *the* false meanes he may maketh hym frendes, some with good felowshyppe, some wyth rewardes, fyndeth a felowe to forge hym false euydence, maketh meanes to the shyryffe, geteth a parcyall panell, laboreth the iury / and when they come to the barre he hath all hys trynkettes redy / where as good Tomme Treuth cometh forth vpon the tother syde, & bycause he weneth all *the* worlde knoweth how trewe his mater is, bryngeth neuer a wytnesse wyth hym, and all hys euydence vn-sorted. And one wyst I ones, that broughte vnto the barre when the iury was sworne, and openly delyuered his counsayle hys tender² boxe wyth hys flynte and hys matches in stede of his box of euydence, for that had he lefte at home / so neglygent are good folke somtyme, whan the knowen trouth of theyr mater maketh them ouer bolde.

And surely myche what after this fashyon in many places play these heretykes and we. For lyke as a few byrdes alway chyrkyng and fleyng from bushe to bushe, many tymes seme a great many: so these heretyques be so besyly walkyng, that in euery ale house, in euery tauerne, in euery barge, and almoste euery bote, as few as they be a man shall alway fynde some / and there be they so besye wyth theyr talkyng, and in better places also where they maye be herd, so feruent and importune in puttyng forth of any thyng whyche may serue for the fortheraunce of theyr purpose, that betwene theyr importune preasyng, and the dylygence or rather the neglygence of good catholyke men, appereth often tymes as gret a dyfference as bytwene frost and fyre.

And surely bytwene the trew catholyke folke and the false heretykes, yt fareth also mych lyke as yt fared betwene false Iudas and Crystes faythfull apostles. For whyle they for all Crystes callynge vpon them to wake

¹ 'about': aboute '57.

² 'tender': tynder *M*.

So it is with heretics and Catholics. For, as a few birds constantly chirping and flying from bush to bush seem to be a great many, so these heretics walk about so busily that a man will meet some of them in every ale-house, tavern, and barge. And their importunity often seems as different from the negligent confidence of Catholics as fire is from frost.

Thus, too, despite the exhortation of Christ, the faithful apostles slumbered in the garden while Judas busied himself about the betrayal.

and praye, fell fyrst in a slumber, and after in a dede slepe: the traytour neyther slept nor slumbered / but went about full besely to betray his mayster, and bring hym selfe to myschyefe.

From the occurrences in the garden at the time of Christ's betrayal

we may also be sure that neither heretics nor devils can do anything except by God's sufferance, and that they can never destroy the Catholic faith. Though God suffers them to prevail here and there for a time, as a scourge for our sins, He will comfort us at last as a tender mother comforts the child whom she has punished.

But yet when he came with his company, they scaped not all scot fre / nor Peter well awaked oute of his slepe was not so slouthfull, but that he could cut of one knaues eare / nor all the wrechcs of theym with all theyr wepens, able to stande agaynste Crystes bare worde, when he sayde, I am he whom ye seke / but to grounde they fell forthwith vp ryght vpon theyr backes. wherby we be sure that neyther heretikes nor deuyls can any thyng do but by goddes specyall sufferance / & that they shall between them both, neuer be able to destroye the catholyke fayth, nor to preuayle agaynst the catholyke chyrch / and all the myschyef shall be theyr owne at lengthe, though god for our synne suffer them for a scourge to preuayle in some places here and there for a whyle / whom vpon mennes amendement he wyll not fayle to serue at the last, as doth the tender mother whyche when she hath beten her chylde for his wantonnes, wypeth hys eyen & kysseth hym, & casteth the rodde in the fyre.

If, through our negligence and their fervent efforts, the heretics should grow in strength and venture at last to resort to force,

I feel such confidence in the hearts of good men and the present aid of God that I have no doubt of the issue.

How be it yf euer it shold (as god forbede it shold, & I trust it neuer shall) by such cold slouth & neglygence on the catholyke part, and suche hote feruent labour of the heretykes, that the heretykes parte shold happe to grow so strong, as they shold conspyre to geue the aduenture by fete of handes: I nothyng dout of good mennes good hertes, nor of the present ayde & helpe of god, but that the presence of parell raysyng men out of this dulle slepe, wold cause them than so to waxe warme & dylygent in the mater, that the heretykes sholde haue such spede, as they haue before this tyme had in thys realme when they haue attempted the like.

But though the heretics would, as I trust, be worsted, in

But yet though the heretykes part shold (as I verely trust they shold) haue euer more the worst / yet very sure it is, that neyther parte shold haue the better / but

that it wold then well appere, that it had bene mych more wisdom for al good catholyque men, to haue waxen warmer afore, & to haue repressed those heretykes in tyme, before they grew to so many.

And this thyng was perceyued very well both before the making of that statute of kyng Henry the .iiii., whiche statute this pacyfyer wolde haue now reformed, & also at the tyme of the makynge / & yet mych better sone after in *the* reyn of the prince of famous memory kyng Henry *the* .v. For before this statute made / the parlement in the fyfth yere of kyng Richard the .ii. complayned of heretikes / & founde grete harme grow that they were not arrested, but wythout arreste in contempt of the censuris of holy chirch, spred theyr heresies about fro shyre to shyre & fro dyocise to dyocise. wherof the realme fered as *the* statute expresseth, that therof wold at length grow some great commocyon & perell. And therefore it was than provided, that at the request of thordinary *the* chauncellour shold fro tyme to tyme award out commysyons, to attache such heretykes and kepe them in strong pryson, tyll they were iustifyed & ordered accordynge to the lawes of the chyrche. And yet was it afterwarde well perceyued, that this prouisyon could not suffice. For the heretykes wold comenly be gone before the commissyon could come, and do as mych hurt in an other place. And therefore the parlement in the second yere of kyng Henry the .iiii., both beyng enformed by the clergy, & also by them selfe perceyuyng that those heretykes encreaced styll, & wolde at length do some gret myschiefe but yf they were better repressed / dyd among other good thynges prouyde, that thordynaryes myghte arrest the heretykes, & imprysone them them selfe. And yet was all that to lytell to. For in some places *the* heretykes waxed to strong, & wolde not be arrested for them. And therefore at last it cam to that poynt, that men longe hadde looked for. For those heresyces bygonne by wycleffe in the tyme of the noble prynce kynge Rychard the .ii,

either event it would then be clear that it would have been wiser to repress them before they grew to such numbers.

This fact was well perceived long ago, as appears from the statutes.

During the reign of Richard II Parliament complained that the unchecked spread of heresy threatened the security of the realm;

and additional provision was made for the attachment and imprisonment of heretics.

This provision having proved inadequate,

Parliament, perceiving in the following reign that heresy was still spreading,

provided among other things that the ordinaries themselves might arrest and imprison heretics. But in some places the heretics were too strong to be repressed by such measures.

Indeed, the heresies that were first taught by Wycliffe had been winked at or neglected for so long that his followers grew bold enough in the reign of Henry V to plot the abolition of the faith, the despoilment of the clergy, and the destruction of the King and his nobility.

This conspiracy having been discovered and thwarted,

and many of the heretics punished,

the full Parliament not only confirmed the earlier statute (to which the Pacifier now objects), but also provided that the property of those who were delivered to the secular arm should be forfeit, and that the great officers of the realm should be sworn to repress heretics. This act, which reflects the Christian zeal and the wisdom of the prince, nobles, and commons,

will not, I trust, be changed by the present Parliament for all the Pacifier's advice.

& beyng then by some folke mayntened, & by many men wynked at, and almost by al folke forslouthed / the parell was so longe neglected, that *the* heretykes were growen vnto such number, corage, and boldenes, that afterwarde in the tyme of *the* said famouse prince kyng Henry the fyfth, they conspyred amonge them, not onely the abolycyon of the fayth, & spoyleing of the spyrytualtye, but also the destruccyon of the kyng & all hys nobylite, wyth a playne subuersyon & ouerturnyng of *the* state of hys hole realme. Vppon whyche theyr false conspiracy dysclosed / when they were by the policy of *that* noble prynce hys counsaile dysappoynted, & secretely preuented, & the felde taken vp before, *in* which they had entended to gather to gether by night, & from thens to haue made theyr inuasyon: than after dew punyshement done vpon many of them, it was well perceyued what grete nede it was euer after to repress & subdue suche sedycyouse heresies forthwith at *the* fyrst springyng. And therefore was there by & by therupon by the full perlyament, not onely that law conformed whiche lawe this pacyfyer here speketh of in this chapyter, but also mo made therunto / as *that* they that were delyuered to *the* secular handes, shold forfayt both goodes & landes / & that the great officers of the realme shold be solempnely sworn to repress heretykes & assyst *the* ordynaryes. And therfore vndoutedly *the*¹ good christen zeale of the prynce, the nobles, & the comons, toward the mayntenance of the fayth / & theyr hygh wysedome in prouydnyng for the conseruacyon of the peace, rest, & suerty of the realme, were the authours & very doers, in *the* making and passynge of that very vertuose & very prudent acte. whyche acte, that euer thys pacyfyer, or a great many suche, shall be able to enduce thys prudent parlyament to chaunge, that wyll I se ere I byleue. whyche I truste I neuer shal in this tyme / namely in whiche, though there be not the . xv . parte of so many

¹ *the*: that '57.

heretykes as these *that* be wolde very fayne there were, and whyle there be not, yet wold haue them seme to be, yet are there of trouth many mo then there were within these few yeres past / & therby the cause for which the statute was made, not onely standeth styll, but is ouer *that* of late very gretely encreased / & so more nede to lette those lawes stande & make mo such to them besyde, then by the asswagyng & mytygacyon of any part of them, to brynge these heretykes into suche corage and surety, as the goodly dyuyses of thys pacyfyer coulde not fayle yf they were folowed to bring them.

For though the number of heretics is often greatly exaggerated, there is no doubt that it has recently increased considerably; and therefore there is the more cause to retain these laws, and rather to add more such, than to mitigate any part of them.

The .xlvi. chaptyer.

WHich, where as he vseth to *the* setting forth of his purpose, a surmised suspicyon agaynst the spyrytualty, making men byleue vnder his fygure of 'Some saye,' that the spyrytuall iudges mysse handle those maters, & vse them selfe therein cruelly: I dare be bounde to warraunt, that ryght good wytnesse & worshypfull shal recorde and testyfy, that they haue ben present and sene the iudges handle them with very great fauour alway, and somtyme to say the trouth to tenderly.

Though the Pacifier brings forth some-says to make men believe that the spiritual judges are cruel, reputable witnesses will testify, I warrant, that they have seen these judges treat heretics always with great favour.

wherof for the meane whyle me thynke I may take to recorde for all hys 'Some sayes' this pacyfyer hym selfe and hys awne wordes, whyche in this pyteouse booke of dyuysyon hym selfe sayth. For in hys fyrste chaptyer he sayth (as I shewed you) that some men to pull rychesse from the chyrch, haue not onely spoken and by playne wordes affermed heresye, but haue also dyspyssed pylgrymages & purgatory, & playne inueyed agaynst them of polycy.

Indeed the Pacifier's own words are enough to discredit his some-says. For he says that those who have uttered heresies and scorned pilgrimages and purgatory in order to deprive the Church of riches are politic.

Now seeth euery man that any eyen hath, that yf the ordynaryes and the spyrytuall iudges were so fyerse and so cruell as thys pacyfyer speketh of, then wolde not those other men thinke that openly to speke and afferme false heresy, were for any maner purpose any proper

But any one can see that such a course of action would be very poor policy if the spiritual judges were as fierce and cruel as his some-says indicate.

polycy. And therfore as for such crueltye and mysse handelynge of innocentes / that thys pacyfyers tale is vntrewe, bothe other good folke can testyfy, and hys owne wordes also beare wytnesse.

In order to see how the Pacifier's devices would work

And therfore nede we no suche chaunge of the lawes for that purpose. But on the tother syde, what harme wold come of hys mytygacyons, & what increace of heretykes, the hole summe and sequele of hys deuyses do more than manifestely shewe.

suppose that some tinker who could read and had been instructed in the heresies of Wycliffe, Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, should himself become a teacher - such a man, for example, as Frith describes.

For suppose me now, that a tynker or a tylar whyche could (as some there can) rede englysshe, and beynge instructed and taught by some olde cunningg weuar in wyclyffes wyckette, & Tindals bookes, and Frythes, & frere Barons were now become hym selfe an vsshare, or after hys maysters deceace a doctour / & that were suche a one as Fryth wryteth resorted to hym, whiche though he was but Frythes dysciple and scolar, was yet (he sayth) more meately to be bysshoppe than many that weare the myter: now yf this tynker or tylar lurking about and teachynge hys gospell in corners, were secretly detected to his ordynary, and therupon sent for & came / he shold by the deuysse of this pacyfyer for the fyrste shyfte say bryng me forth myne accuser / & than syth the callynge *ex officio* were gone, home goeth the tynkar agayne merely for that tyme, and taketh forth hys scolars a newe lesson.

Now if he were summoned by his ordinary upon evidence which had been given privately, he might for his first shift say, 'Produce my accuser.' And since the summoning *ex officio* would be illegal, home would he go to give more lessons.

Then if the court appointed an officer to act as accuser, the tinker, upon resummons, would again protest. And since those who abolished the process *ex officio* would support him, home would he go again.

If at last some man could be found to appear against him, his resources are not yet exhausted. For if the witnesses happened to be

Then yf the court will appoynt an offyicer of theyr own for an accuser, as an officer of a temporall courte may geue informacyon for the kynge: the tynkar yet when he were called agayne, wold crye oute vppon that. And who so holdeth agaynst the processe *ex officio*, wolde take the tynkars parte therin to, and call those twayne but bothe one / and so home goth the tynkar agayn.

Then yf some man (whych wolde be longe erste I wene) could yet at the laste be founden, that wolde offer hym self as an accuser agaynst this tynkar, when he were called agayne, and his heresyces were layed vnto his charge: yet yf the wytnesses were peradventure some

scolars of his own / and lackyng the wyly shyftes that hym selfe had, fyrst had denyed theyr heresyen vppon theyr othes, and after yet confessed theym agayne both vppon them self and theyr mayster tynkar to, then were there neuer so many of them, yet by the deuysse of this pacyfyer, al theyre wytnes were naught worth, bycause they were naughty men, heretikes them self, and fyrst forsworen also / so that yet home goth the tynkar agayne.

Nowe yf there were after other good honeste proues, that wolde come in and proue playnely the heresyen that he helde / when the tynkar were therto called, he wolde say he sayde yt all of ignoraunce. Then yf the mater were such, as he muste nedes haue herd of and knowen the trew fayth byfore, as pylgrymage, purgatorye, or the sacrament of the autre: he wyll not yet stycke myche to saye, brynge in some bodye here that wyll swere that euer he dyd teache yt me. And yet when that answeere in suche an open mater wyll not serue / he wyll saye that he sayd yt of symplycyte, and that he byleueth as the chyrche byleueth he. And when he is asked howe the chyrche byleueth, he wyll saye he woteth nere. And yf his wordes be rehersed vnto hym clene contrary to the comen knowen catholike fayth of the chyrch / he wyll say he was not ware that the chyrche byleued so / & wyll say that they sholde not speke of suche hygh maters *that* serue for doctours, to suche a pore tynkar *that* medleth wyth brasse and not with latyn. And there shall he then haue some of his other faculty gather & stande about, and saye yt is pytye in dede that suche a pore symple soule sholde haue any suche questyons asked hym. But they wyll put yt for no pytye at all, that suche an vnlearned fole shall amonge suche other as are lesse lerned then hym selfe, teache boldely the false parte, and there brage & boste that he better vnderstandeth *the* mater, then all the doctours in the towne.

yet yf it appere that by sore wordes he despyes & inueyed agaynst pylgrymages & purgatory, & suche

some of his own scholars, who first denied their own heresies under oath, and later confessed them and implicated him, he might challenge them as perjured, and go his way again.

If his heresies were at length proved against him, he might answer that he had uttered them in ignorance,

or out of simplicity.

But the simplicity under which he would shelter himself in court

will not keep him from boasting among his scholars that he understands these questions better than all the doctors.

And some of his violent utterances he might

explain as due
merely to a
desire to de-
prive the Church
of the source of
its riches.

If the judges
should be so
cruel as to dis-
allow such a
plea, he might
still say that he
would not ob-
stinately defend
his heresies.

So he must be
sent home again
without delay.

If he should
again be de-
tected in the
same heresies, he
might plead that
it was through
oversight, and
that he would
not adhere to
them obstinate-
ly.

Whatever he
might say or do,
the bishop
would have no
power to arrest
him until it had
been proved
that the clergy
were no longer
eager to punish
heretics; but
would mean-
while be com-
pelled to resort
to such indirect
methods as
might offer him
opportunity to
escape abroad
and set up an-
other school.

When would
wilful offenders
be punished by
these means?

other thynges so that he dyd it not of symplycyte when he spake therin so shrewdly / then hath thys pacyfyer taught hym to saye, that he dyd it of polycy to pul awaye ryches from the chyrche / and therfore can that be no heresy.

Now yf the iudges be so sore & so cruell, that they wyll not allowe that polycy / yet hath thys pacyfyer taughte hym farther to say, that he dyd but speke it affyrmatyuely, and wyll not hold it opinyatuyely / and than ye wote well it is by thys pacyfyer no heresy.

And therfore muste hys iudges when they haue all done, sende thys tynkar yet onys home agayne / and not kepe hym to longe a way, lest hys scolars sholde playe the truantes and lacke theyr lernynge the whyle.

And yet yf he sayd as myche after agayne, and theruppon were called agayn / he myght say agayne that he were ouersene in the sayenge, of a lyghtnesse of wytte and slyppernes of tonge. But he wyll not holde it opynatyuely / & therfore yet agayne it maye be no heresy / so that home muste the tynkar agayne.

And now yf it sholde happen him to say and do so farre as he were afrayde to byde any farther rekenyng, namely where spyritual men so feerce and so cruell sholde be hys iudges / the bysshoppe myght not arest hym yet, tyll proues be brought in fyrste, that the spyrytualtye haue lefte theyr greate desyre to abiure and punysse heretykes / but must all the meane whyle cyte hym suspende hym, & accurse hym, and fet hym in by the kynges wryt when he is runne oute farre of into an other cuntrey, and there hath chaunged his name and set vp a newe scole, where as men can neyther fynd hym nor yet wote where to seke hym.

when sholde there by these meanes wylfull offenders be punysshed? whyche though thys pacyfyer pretende that he wolde haue done / yet consyder these thre chapyters of hys whyche I haue rehersed you, the fyrste, the seuenth, & the eyghte, and ye shall fynde hys deuyses come to lytell better effecte, than after thys fasshyon that I haue here descrybed you.

And than yf suche good prouysyons may be made for them, that they maye neuer be brought in to answeere, and that they may haue so many shyftes whan so euer they come: it wyll lytell fere them what payne ye sette after conuyccyon / burne them twyse yf ye wyll after iudgement, they wyll wyth good wyll agre / prouydyng fyrste such good actes for them as they shall neuer come so farre.

If such provisions are made against their being summoned, and so many exceptions are allowed when they appear, they will not care what punishment follows conviction.

And therefore good chrysten readers, wolde god the world were such as euery man were so good, spyrytuall, temporall, and all, that neyther parte coulde fynde any fawte in other / and all these heresyces so clene gone and forgotten, & al those that are infected were so clene turned and chaunged, that no man neded eyther abiuracyon or punysshement. But syth that thys is more easy to wyshe, than lykely to loke for: therefore is it wysedome that spyrytuall & temporall both, albe it men be not all sayntes, yet yf theyr condycyons be tolerable, eyther part labour to make hym self better, and charytably somewhat eyther part beare with other. And those extreme vices whiche neyther the tone nor the tother ought in any wyse to suffer, as thefte, adultery, sacrylege, murder, incest, and periury, sedycyon, insurreccyon, treason, & heresyce / bothe partes in one agreyng, to the honour of god and peace of Chrystes chyrche, wyth reste, welth, and surety of the prynce and the realme, dylygently refourme and amende in suche as are mendable / and those whose corrupt canker no cure can heale, cut of in season for corruptyng farther.

Would that every man were good, and all these heresies so completely forgotten that no one needed either to abjure or to be punished.

But since such a state is not likely to be attained, it would be the part of wisdom if both clergy and laity laboured to make themselves better, bore with one another's lesser faults, and united against all whose vices were intolerable, endeavouring to reform those who were reformable, and cutting off in season those whose canker was beyond remedy.

The .xlix. chapyer.

AND thus good crysten readers I make an ende of this mater, the boke I meane of thys dyuysyon / wherin I haue nothing touched nor entended, but onely that I wold not the temporalty bare the spirituality the worse mynde or affeccyon, for any such suttle inuented ways that lay the fautes of the badde to the whole body, wherin

A restatement of the motives that led me to touch upon three of the Pacifier's chapters.

be many good / and vnder a fygure of some say, saye some thynges false them selfe / nor that men shold causelesse vppon such surmysed and vnproued crueltye, chaunge the good lawis byfore made agaynste heretyques, wherby to the dyspleasure of god & prouokynge of his indygnacyon, we were lykely to haue the fayth decay, & more harme grow theron then any man yet can tell.

As every man ought to do, I favour the clergy as a body, but not those members who are wicked.

The whole somme & effect therfore of my mynde in this mater is, that as touchynge the spyrytualtye, I bere a tender mynde of trouthe towarde (I say) *the* body, not toward those that are noughte therin. And thys mynde ys euery man bounde to bere / and I truste so doth this pacyfyer to, and wyll of hym selfe I wene do well ynough, yf he vse to the contrary none euyll counsayle.

For heretics, I hate that vice of theirs, but not their persons; and I would very gladly see the vice destroyed and themselves saved. Indeed my attitude would clearly appear if all the favour and pity that I have shown them were known.

As touchynge heretykes, I hate that vyce of theyrs & not theyr persones / and very fayne wolde I that the tone were destroyed, and the tother saued. And that I haue toward no man any other mynde then thys, (howe lowdely so euer these blessed newe bretherne the professours & preachers of verytye bylye me) yf all the fauour and pytye that I haue vsed amonge theym to theyre amendement were knowen, yt wolde I warraunt you well and playne appere / wherof yf it were requysyte I coulede bryng forth wytnesses mo then men wold wene.

However bad any one of them had been, if he showed promise of amendment I was so glad that I treated him as a good man and my very friend.

And sure this one thyng wyll I be bolde to say, that I neuer founde any yet, but had he ben neuer so bad, nor done neuer so myche harme byfore: yet after that I founde hym ones chaunged and in good mynde to mende, I haue ben so gladde therof, that I haue vsed hym fro thens forth not as an euyll man or an abiect, nor as a straunger neyther, but as a good man and my very frende.

Since I would not receive more thanks than I deserve, however, I wish all the world to know that

Howe be yt bycause yt were neyther ryghte nor honestye, that any man sholde loke for more thanke then he deserueth / I wyll that all the world wyt it on *the* tother syde, that who so be so depely grounded in

malyce, to the harme of his owne soule and other mennes to, and so set vppon the sowynge of sediciouse heresyess, that no good meanes that men maye vse vnto hym, can pull that malycyouse foly oute of hys poysened proude obstynate harte: I wolde rather be content that he were gone *in* tyme, then ouer longe to tary to the destruccyon of other.

when heretics are so obstinate that no good means can change them, I had rather see them gone in time than tarrying too long to the destruction of others.

Finally as for the authour of the boke of *dyuision*, bycause he *professeth* these heretyques opynions for heresies as thei be / I truste in all his other thynges hym selfe meaneth but well / but partely may be by some pytyfull affeccyon ledde. And some thynges he sayth but vppon report / and some thynges affermeth peraduenture as of hym selfe, bycause of the fyrme credence that he therein hath geuen to some that were not so credyble as he toke theym fore. But in conclusyon what so euer he be, for any thyng that I perceyue in his boke, he shall I trust in conclusyon be founden no suche maner of man, as folke shold of reason reken to bere vnto the weale of the prynce and the realme, any better mynde then I. How be yt yf his wytte and hys lernynge fynde a better waye, then not onely I (whyche am but a playne soule and can inuent no neweltyes, but am content to stande to the olde order and lawes) but also then all they, whyche for this realme in specyall, and for the whole chyrche of Cryst in generall, haue made those prouysyons of old: I neyther can nor wyll forbede any man to folowe hym.

Since the author of the book of division condemns these heresies, I trust that he means well in all other parts of his treatise.

Whoever he may be, his devotion to the welfare of the realm is no greater than mine. But if his wit can devise better means not only than I, but also than those men who made these laws for this realm and for the whole Church, I will not forbid men to follow him.

But thys wyll I be bolde to counsaile euery man, to whose parte so euer any suche chaunge shall perteyne, fyrste that they haue as I dout not but they wyll, a good christen mynde to the mayntenaunce of Crystes catholyke fayth / & that they therin stande by the olde, wythout the contrary chaunge of any poynt of our olde bylyefe, for any thyng brought vppe for newe, not onely by Luther, Tyndale, Fryth, or frere Barons / but also yf there wolde (as there neuer wyll) an angell (as saint Poule sayth) come out of henyn & preche a contrary new.

But I will advise every man who may have any part in such changes to stand by the old faith, refusing to believe anything contrary to it, whether preached by Luther and his followers, or even, as Saint Paul says, by an angel from heaven.

And since the
'fathers' of
these brethern
confuse new
with old, and
heresies with
faith,

I will advise you
to accept as the
faith what you,
your fathers,
your grand-
fathers, and
their grand-
fathers have be-
lieved, and what,
as you may read
even in English
books, had been
believed for cen-
turies earlier yet.

In distin-
guishing the old
from the new,
we must also
rely upon the
writings of the
holy Doctors and
saints,

and especially
upon the deter-
mination of the
Catholic Church.

If any man
who is not suffi-
ciently learned
to consult these
authorities is
misled into
doubt concern-
ing some de-
bated point,

whatever claims
may be made by
either side,

Secundely for as myche as these newe fathers of these new bretherne, lyke as they make falsed treuth & treuth falsed, and fayth heresies and heresydes fayth, so do call also the newe olde and the olde newe / not lettynge to call in theyr bookes that fayth but new, whyche them selfe confesse in the same bookes to be more old than thage of eyght hundred yere: I wyll aduysen you therfore good readers for the trewe takynge of the olde fayth, and for the dyscernyng therof from all newe, to stand to the comon well knowen bylyefe of the comon knowen catholyke chyrche of all chrysten people / such fayth as by your selfe, and your fathers, and your graunde-fathers, you haue knowen to be byleued / and haue ouer that herde by them that the contrary was in the tymes of theyr fathers & theyr graundefathers also, taken euer more for heresyde. And also ye *that* rede but euyn in englysshe bookes, shall in many thynges perceyue the same, by storyes fyue tymes as farre afore that.

we must also for the perceyuyng of the olde fayth from newe, stande to the wrytynges of olde holy doctours & sayntes / by whose expositiouns we se what poyntes are expressed in the scripiture, and what poyntes the catholyke chyrche of Cryst hath bysyde the scripiture receyued & kept by the spyryte of god and tradycyon of hys apostles.

And specyally must we also stande in this mater of fayth, to the determynaciouns of Crystes catholyke chyrche.

Now yf any man wyll bere other in hande, that this poynt or that poynt is not determyned, or that the holy doctours of the chyrche wryte not in such wyse but the contrary / than who so euer is not of suche lernynge, as to perceyue by hym self whither of those two saye trewe that holde therein contrary partys: than except the artycle be a playne open knowen thyng of it selfe, not dowted of before, let hym not be lyght of credence in the by-leuyng eyther the tone dysputer or the tother, though they wolde bothe preche hygh prayses of theyr owne

connynge, and saye that bysyde all theyr mych worldely busynesse they hadde spent many yeres about the studye of scrypture, and bost that theyr bokes of dyuynyte were worthe neuer so myche money, or that by the spyryte they were inspired and wyth the celestyall dew sodaynly sprongen vp dyuynys, as lustye freshe and grene as after any showre of rayne euer spronge any bedde of lekes. Lette no man I say be lyght in byleuyng theym for all that / but let hym by my pore consayle pray god inspyre hym self, to byleue and folow the thyng that maye be hys hygh pleasure / and lette hym therupon appoynt with hym selfe to lyue well / & forth with to beginne well, gete hym self a good goostely father, and shryue hym of hys synnes / & than concernyng the question, aske aduyce and counsayle of those whom hym selfe thynketh bytwene god & hys new clensed conscyence, for lernyng and vertue moste lykely, without any parcyall lenyng, indyfferently to tell hym treuth.

And thus farre I saye for the fayth it selfe, bycause I here some men myche speke & boste that they wyll labour for declaracyons of heresy, whyche as me semeth is a thyng that lytell nedeth. For I neuer wyste any man in my lyfe putte in trouble for any poynte of heresy, but suche poyntes as were for heresy well and openly knowen among the comon people. And saynt Poule sayth *that* heresy be manyfest and open / so that he thought as it semeth, that there neded none other declaracyon than the comon receyued fayth of the chrysten peple to the contrary.

But now as touchyng any new order concernyng heresy, wyth the chaunge of lawes before dyuysed for the repressyon of them: I haue no more to say therin, but aduyse euery good man endeuoure hym self to kepe well *the* lawes all redy made of olde / excepte he se the cause of the makyng chaunged, or some other great necessity / and that he se that poynt by more ordinary meanes proued, than eyther by some say, or they say, or

let him not be credulous; but let him pray for God's guidance, resolve to live virtuously, confess his sins, and ask advice of those who seem most likely, by reason of their learning, virtue, and impartiality, to tell him the truth.

I say this because I have heard some men boast that they will labour for declarations of heresy, which seem to me to be little needed. For I never knew of any man who fell into trouble for heresy except upon points that were well known among the common people.

Finally I advise every good man to keep the old laws unless he sees it proved—more cogently than by some—says—that the cause for which they were made exists no longer, or that there is some other necessity for

change; or at least unless he is certain that those who would change them are both better and wiser than the men who made them.

And I beseech our Lord and Saviour

to cause his faith to increase and grow strong in our hearts.

many say / or ellys that he perceyue well at *the* leste, that those folke which wold labour to chaunge them be better & wyser bothe, than euer were those *that* made them. And thus fynyshe I thys mater concernynge heresydes / besechynge our lorde and sauour for hys bytter passyon, that as hys holy sacramentes therof toke theyre strength, so by the prayour of all those holy sayntes *that* haue bothe by their holy doctryne and ensample of lyuynge, some of them planted *the* fayth, and some of theym in sundry tymes well watered the plantes, so hym selfe wyll of hys goodnes specially now vouchsaufe as the warme sonne (the very eternall onely begotten sonne of hys eternall father) to sprede hys beames vppon vs, and aspyre hys breth into vs, and *in* our hartes as saynt Poule sayth geue hys fayth strength and encrease.

The .1. chapter.

I hear that the brethern criticize my books because I bring in fancies and merry tales among the most serious matters. As Horace says, a man may speak the truth in jest. And it better becomes a layman to tell his mind merrily than solemnly to preach.

NOW come I to the last fawt that the brethern fynde in my bokes. For as for one more that was shewed me wythin thys seuen nyght, I not so myche esteme, as to vouchesaufe to answer, that is to wyt where they reproue that I brynge in amonge the moste earnest maters, fansyes and sportes, and mery tales. For as Horace sayeth, a man maye somtyme saye full soth in game. And one that is but a lay man as I am, it maye better happely become hym meryly to tell hys mynde, than seryously and solempnely to preache. And ouer thys I can scant byleue that the brethern fynde any myrth *in* my bokes. For I haue not myche herde *that* they very merely rede them.

In answer to their final criticism—that I have not fulfilled my promise concerning the Church—I shall first quote that promise as it appeared at the end of the preface to my *Confutation*:

But as to the laste faute that they fynde, which I was about now to speke of, where as they saye that as concernynge the chyrch, I haue not fulfilled my promyse / I shall here fyrste put you in remembraunce what my *promyse* was.

In the ende of my preface byfore Tyndals confutation these are my very wordes.

'Nowe shall I (god wyllinge) at my nexte leysor go farther in his boke / and come to the very breste of all this batayle / that is to wytte the question whych is the chyrch. For that is the poynte that all these heretykes by all the meanes they may labour to make so darke / that by theyr willes no man sholde wyt what they meane. But I trust to drawe the serpent out of his darke denne / and as the poetes fayn that Hercules drew vp Cerberus the mastiffe of hell in to the lyghte where hys eyen dased: so shal I with *the* grace of that lyght whyche illumyneth euery man that cometh into this worlde / make you that mater so lyghtsome & so clere to euery man / *that* I shall leue Tyndale neuer a darke corner to crepe into / able to hyde his hedde.

'Then after that I haue so clerely confuted Tyndale concernyng that poynt / & shall haue playnly proued you the sure and stedfaste authoryte of Cristes catholike knowen chyrche / agaynste all Tyndales tryflyng sophystycacyons / whyche he wolde sholde seme so solempne subtile insolubles / whych ye shall se proued very frantyke folyes: after this done I say / before I go farther wyth Tyndale / I purpose to answer good yonge father Fryth.'

Now god readers who so lyst to saye that I haue not fulfilled thys promyse / yf he rede not my boke, I can not make hym se the thyng that he lysted not to loke on.

If he haue red it, & thynke hym selfe not satisfied / I can not make hym perceyue more then hys wyt wyll serue hym.

If he vnderstande it well, and yet wyll say my promyse is not fulfilled / I can not let hym for hys pleasure to lye. But lette hym what so euer he be put in wrytynge what moueth hym so to saye, and I shall than I dowte not make other folke perceyue, that all my promyse in that poynt I haue fully performed & more / that is to wytte by as myche more at the leste, as all myne eyght booke amounteth. For lyke as in the tother I haue fully confuted Tyndals chyrche: so haue I in that booke con-

'At my next leisure I shall, God willing, consider the question: Which is the Church? For that is the point that all these heretics labour to make dark. But I trust to make the matter so clear that Tyndale will have no dark corner left into which he can creep.

'Then, after I have so clearly confuted Tyndale concerning that point and proved the sure authority of Christ's Catholic Church, before I proceed further with him, I intend to answer Fryth.'

I cannot make any one see that this promise has been fulfilled unless he reads my book. I cannot make any reader grasp it if it is beyond his wits.

I cannot prevent anyone who does grasp it from lying. But let him write out his reasons for denying that I have fulfilled my promise, and I trust to make others perceive that I have fully confuted not only Tyndale but Barnes also.

futed as for thys worlde, the chyrche that frere Barns had falsely framed here also / wherof I promised nothyng. So that as towchyng the certentye of the chyrche, and of *the* infallible doctryn therof / who so rede and aduysse well thys worke of myne made for the confutacyon of Tyndale / and therwyth rede and consyder *the* .vii. fyrst chapyters and the laste of my seconde booke of my dyaloge, wheruppon Tindale made all his wurke: I dowt not but he that thus wyll do, shall fynde hym selfe fully satysfied.

References to the argument.

The other promises that I made in that preface I intend to fulfil at further leisure. But I think it better to bestow some time upon mending the faults in my own living before I find more faults in other men's writing. Indeed we now have too many writers of new books.

I beseech Almighty God to grant that those who do write may have the grace to write with good intentions; that all of us may mend the faults in our lives; that all Christian souls, on earth or in purgatory, may pray for each other; and that the holy saints may pray for us all.

And therefore good crysten readers, as for suche farther things as I haue in my sayd preface promysed / I purpose to pursue at some other farther leysour. But fyrste I thynke yt better to bestowe some tyme vppon an nother thyng / and leuyng for a while bothe defence of myne owne fautes and fyndyng of other mennys in wrytyng, thynke better to bestow some tyme about the mendyng of myne owne in lyuyng, which is a thyng now for many men more necessarye then is wrytyng. For of new boke makers there are now mo then ynough.

wherfore that all suche as wyll wryte, may haue *the* grace to wryte well / or at the leste wyse none other purpose then to meane well / and as well wryters as other to amende our owne fautes & lyue well: I beseeche almyghtye god to graunt vs / and that all folke spyrytuall and temporall in this world lyuyng, & all good crysten soules departed hence and yet not out of payne, may for grace euery parte pray for other / & all *the* blessed holy sayntes in heuen, bothe here for grace & there for glory, praye to god for vs all. Amen.

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Fletestrete in saynte
Brydys chyrch
yarde.
1533
Cum priuilegio.

The fautes escaped in the
prentying of this
Apology.

Fo.	pa.	linea.	The fautes.	The amendements.
23	i	xi	lyuys	lynys
25	ii	i	worden	worde
34	ii	xvii	faller	fall
35	ii	xxii	, wryte	wryte,
39	i	xiii	oher	other
40	ii	viii	myght se	myght not se
44	ii	xvi	Greke	Grece
51	ii	xi	confoded meun	confounded me
56	i	xx	hys	this
58	i	vi	eleccyon begyn nynge. If	eleccion, begyn- nynge yf
66	i	xxi	vntouehed	vntouched
66	ii	xi	the temporalty	& the temporalty
75	ii	i	for as	as for
76	i	vii	spyrituall man / but	spyrytuall man to my knowe- lege / but
76	i	xv	this of	this daye of
77	i	i	there	they
93	i	xx	she	he
94	ii	viii	enter	entre
95	i	xiii	after holy	after this holy
134	i	xii	& euyll	an euyll
162	i	xviii	teache	do and teache
166	ii	xiii	proulged	promulged
167	i	xiiii	propleme	probleme
171	ii	iiii	is wytte,	is to wytte,

Fo.	pa.	linea	The fautes	The amezdements ¹
185	ii	xix	may	man
188	ii	xiiii	Blofelde	Blomfelde
219	ii	iii	many wyll	many a man wyll
220	i	xix	fro	for
225	i	vi	foke	folke
246	i	i	tell ty	tell yt
267	ii	ix	tender	tynder

[‘The fautes escaped in the pretynge of the second parte of the confutacyon’ follow on eight unnumbered pages.]

¹ In the first edition this line follows the correction for page 167.

The Following Misprints in the Original Texts
Have Not Been Corrected in the
Textual Footnotes

Page 10, line 35.	trranslated
„ 17, „ 18.	exercyses
„ 20, „ 12.	<i>Romano</i>
„ 24, „ 7.	peacher
„ 31, „ 11.	sayn
„ 68, „ 8.	opypynyon
„ 84, „ 8.	chanuteryes
„ 89, ll. 3 & 11.	Calanius
„ 89, line 3.	Capuaue
„ 123, „ 30.	spyrytaulty
„ 174, „ 36.	supended
„ 191, „ 38.	henyn
„ 209, „ 30.	tesistence
„ 209, „ 37.	duision
„ 212, „ 38.	couueniente
„ 215, „ 14.	spiritnal
„ 224, „ 29.	gracc
„ 226, „ 37.	specyallly
„ 228, „ 32.	mortuarirs
„ 230, „ 11.	those (?)
„ 230, „ 25.	seruannte
„ 232, „ 7.	pardous
„ 252, „ 13.	beue

APPENDIX

A Treatise concer-
nyng the diuisi-
on betwene
the spi-
ritu-
altie and tem-
poraltie.

This lyttell boke declareth dyuers causes / wherby
 diuision hathe rysen betwene the spiritualtie and tem-
 poraltie: and partly sheweth, howe they maye be
 brought to a vnite. And if they that may do most good
 towarde the sayde vnite / wyll take the articles of this
 tretése / as lytel tytlynges to bryng some weightier
 thynges to theyr mynde concernyng the same, and
 thanne by theyr wysedomes wyll adde them herevnto /
 and (as they shall thynke necessarye) to see them all
 put in due execution: I thynke ve-
 ryly / that in shorte tyme they
 shall bryng this matter to
 good effecte / to the
 honoure of
 god / &
 to
 the comon welth and quiet-
 nes of all the kynges
 subiectes.

A TRETISE.

¶ Dyuers articles / whiche haue bene a
 speciall cause of the diuision that
 is betwyxte the spiritualtie
 and the temporaltie
 in this realme.
 The fyrste Chapter.

VWho maye remembre the state of this
 realme nowe in these dayes / withoute
 great heuynes and sorow of herte? For
 there as in tymes paste hath reygned
 charite, mekenes, concorde, and peace,
 reygneeth now enuye, pryde / diuision, and stryfe: and
 that nat onely betwene laye menne and laye menne, but
 also betwene religyous and religyous, and betwene
 preestes and religyous, and that is yet more to be la-
 mented, also betwene preestes and preestes. Whiche
 diuision hathe bene so vniuersall, that it hath bene a
 great vnquietnes and a great breache of charitie through
 all the realme: and parte of it hath rysen by reason of a
 great singularite, that religious persons and priestes
 haue hadde to theyr state of lyuynge / wherby many of
 them haue thoughte theyr state most perfite before all
 other. And some of them haue therby exalted them
 selfe in theyr owne syght so hygh, that they haue rysen
 into suche a ghostly pryde, that they haue in maner dis-
 dayned and dispised other, that haue not lyued in suche
 perfection, as they thynke they do. And of this hathe
 folowed, that somme of them haue hadde vnsyttynge
 wordes of the other, callyng them flatterers, dissimulers,
 and hipocrites: And they haue called the other agayne
 proude persons, couetous, vayne glorious / and louers
 of worldely delytes, and suche other.

¶ And an other parte of this diuysion hath rysen by
 dyuersities of opinions, that haue ben vpon the auctori-
 ties / powers, and iurisdiction of spirituall men amonge

them selfe. And vpon these dyuysions some laye men haue in tyme past fauored the one parte, and some the other: wherby the people haue greatly be inquyeted. But I wote not fully by what occasion it is, that now of late the great multitude of all the laye people haue founde defaulte / as well at prestes as relygious, so ferfourthe that hit is now in maner noted through all the realme / that there is a great diuision betwene the spiritualtie and the temporaltie. And verily it is great pytie / that suche a noyse shuld sprynge and goo abrode. And some alledge dyuers causes why hit is so noysed. Fyrste they saye, that neyther prestes nor relygious kepe the perfection of theyr order to the honoure of god and good example of the people, as they shuld do: but that some of them procure theyr owne honour / and call it the honour of god, and rather couet to haue rule ouer the people than to profyte the people. And that some couet their bodyly ease and worldely welthe / in meate and drynke, and suche other / more than comunly any temporal man dothe. And that some serue God for a worldly laude, and to be magnified therfore / more than for the pure loue of god. And somme lay men saye farther / that though religious men haue varied with religious / and that some prestes haue varied also with religious in some pointes concernynge the preemynence of theyr perfection, as is sayd before: that yet in suche thynges as pertayne to the mayntenaunce of the worldly honour of the church and of spirituall men / whiche they call the honour of god, and in suche thynges as pertayn to the encrece of the ryches of spirituall men / religious or seculer, they say they agree all in one. And therfore they say, that all spirituall men / as to the multitude, be more diligent to enduce the people to suche thynges, as shall brynge riches to the church, as to gyue money to trentals, and to founde chaunteryes and obites, and to obteyne pardons, and to go vpon pylgremages / and suche other: than they be to enduce them to the payment of theyr dettes, to make restitutions for suche

wronges as they haue done, or to do the werkes of mercy to theyr neyghbours that be pore and nedy / and that sometyme be also in ryght extreme necessite.

¶ And for as moche as it is moste commonly sene / that amonge a great multitude there be many, that worke rather vppon wyll than vpon reason, And that though they haue good zeale / yet many tymes they lacke good ordre and discretion, whiche is the mother of all vertue. Therfore some persons, thynkyng that worldely honoure and rychesse lettethe greatly deuocion, so moche that as they thynke / they canne nat stande to gyther / haue holden opinion, that it is not lafull to the churche to haue any possessions. And some takynge a more meane waye therin / haue sayde / that (as they thynke) it is lafull and also expedient, that the churche haue possessions: but they thynke / that the greatte haboundance / that is in the churche / doth great hurte / and induceth in many of them / a loue to worldely thynges, and lettethe and in maner stranglenth the loue of god. And therfore they thynke, that it were good to take awaye that is to moche, and to leue that is sufficient. And some also / as of a policie to pulle ryches fro the churche, haue inveyed ageynste all suche thynges as brynge ryches to the churche. And bicause great riches haue comme to the churche for prayenge for soules in purgatorie, haue by wordes affirmed / that there is no purgatorie: And that grauntyng of pardons riseth of couetyse of the churche / and profyteth not the people / and that pylgremages be of no effecte / and that the churche may make no lawes / and such other thynges / as foundynge of chaunteris, making of brotherhedes / and many mo. Wherin they shewe outwardly to ryse agaynst al the thynges before rehersed, and to dispyse them, and yet they know and beleue in theyr hartes, that all these thynges be of them selfe right good and profyt-able / as they be in dede: if they were ordered as they shulde be. And somme persones there be / that throughe grace fynde defaute onely at the abusion and

mysse order of suche thynges / and speke nothyng
 ayenst the thynges selfe / neyther of purgatorie, pyl-
 gremages / settinge vppe of ymages, or suche other.
 For they knowe well, they be ordeyned of god, and that
 the mysorder rysethe onely of man for couetyse, singu-
 larite, or some other suche lyke defaulte, through per-
 swasion and disceyte of the goostely enemye. And
 thoughe some men haue mystaken them selfe in the
 sayd articles, yet dyuers other haue sayd / that if they
 had ben well and charitably handeled / they myghte
 haue benne reformed / and paraduenture saued in body
 and in soule.

¶ And vpon al these matters there is rysen a great
 opinion in the people / in maner vniuersally, that in
 punysshing and correccyons all these persons before
 rehersed shuld haue lyke punysshment / if spirituall
 men myghte haue free lybertye in that behalfe. And
 that spirituall men wolde, if they coulde / as well put
 them to silence / that speake ayenst the abusion or dis-
 ordre of suche thynges, as be before rehersed, as them
 that speake ayenste the thyng selfe. And many other
 murmours & grudges besyde these that be before re-
 hersed, be amonge the people / mo than I can reherse
 now: but yet aboue all other me thynketh that hit is
 most to be lamented and sorowed, that spirituelle men /
 knowynge these grudges and murmuracions amonge
 the people, and knowynge also that many laye men haue
 opinion / that a great occasion therof ryseth by spiritual
 men, and that they do no more to appease them, ne to
 ordre them selfe in no other maner for the appeasyng
 of them than they doo. For al that they do therein moste
 commonly is this: they take hit, that they that fynde
 defeaute at suche abusions and disordre, loue no prestes:
 and therefore they esteme / that they do of malyce all
 that they do / to distroye the churche / and to haue theyr
 goodes and possessions them selfe: And therefore they
 thynke it a good dede to se them punysshed, so that they
 shall not be able to brynge theyr malyce to effect. And

therefore haue they punysshed many persons / which
moch people haue iuged them to do vpon wyl / and of no
loue vnto the people. And though spiritual men are
bounde in this case, for appesing of these opinions in the
peple, whiche be so daungerous as well to spirituall men /
as to temporal men, that many soules stonde in great
peryl therby, not onely to reforme them selfe, and to
leue and auoyde all thynges, that gyue occasion to the
people / so to offende / that may by charyte be omytted
and lefte / but also to fast, pray, weare the heare / gyue
almes / and to doo other good dedes for them selfe and
for the people, cryenge continually to our lorde / that
these diuisions may cease / and that peace and con-
corde may come agayne in to the worlde: yet it appereth
not that they do so, but that they rather contynue styll
after the olde course, pretendynge by confederacies and
worldely polycies / and streyte corrections / to rule the
people, and that is greatly to be lamented / and hit wyll
be harde for them to brynge hit so aboute. But if they
wolde a lyttell meken them selfe / and withdrawe suche
thynges as haue brought the people into this murmoure
and grudge: they shulde anone brynge a newe lyghte of
grace into the worlde, and brynge the people to perfecte
loue and obedience to theyr superyours. And here me
thynketh I might saye farther in one thyng, and that is
this, that as longe as spirituall rulers wyll eyther pre-
tende / that theyr auctoritie is so hygh / and so immedi-
ately deriued of god / that the people are bounde to obeye
them / and to accepte all that they do and teache with-
oute argumentes tesistence or grudgynge ayenst them,
or that they wyll pretende, that no defaulte is in them /
but in the people, and wyll yet contynue styll in the
same maner / and after the same worldly countenance /
as they do now / and haue done late tyme paste:
The lyght of grace that is spoken of before, wyll not
appere, but that bothe parties shall walke in this
darkenes of malyce and duision / as they haue done in
tyme paste.

¶ An nother occasyon of
this dyuysion.
The seconde Chaptyer.

THere haue bene made in tyme paste many good lawes by the churche for the good ordre of spirituelle menne, whiche were ryght necessarye to be kepte to this day: which nowe be altered eyther by a lawe made to the contrarye / or by somme euylle custome brought vp and suffered ageynst them. And I shal brefly recite some of them, as I haue founde them wrytten by other before this tyme.

¶ Fyrste there was a lawe made / that a man well approued in his werkes and doctrine shulde be made a bysshop, and not a chylde ne a carnall man / or that is vnlearned in spirituall thinges.

¶ Also that nothyng shulde be gyuen in any place for burialles, confession / gyuyng of ordres / ne for any of the sacramentes, nor for any promocion.

¶ Also that bysshops and prestes shuld not be atte vayne worldely syghtes or pleyes, ne delyte in them.

¶ That it is not lafull for a bysshoppe or preeste to be absente on the sondaye, but to be at Masses / and that fastynge.

¶ That no preest shuld eate flesshe from Quinquagesime to Ester.

¶ That prestes shuld faste aduent.

¶ That bysshoppes and preestes / and especially monkes and religious, shall studye in heuenly scriptures, all lernynges and practises of litigious thynges lefte and sette aparte.

¶ That the bysshop shall euery yere go aboute his dioces with great diligence and effecte.

¶ That heuenly scriptures be redde at the bysshoppes table.

¶ That a clerke fulle of foule wordes shall be putte fro his offyce.

¶ That the wages of clerkes shall be gyuen after theyr merites.

¶ That prestes shall eschewe feastes at mariages.

¶ That clerkes shal com in no tauernes.

¶ That a bysshoppe shall haue poore apparelle / lodgyng, and table, and fedyng for poore men.

¶ That a bysshoppe shall not lyghtely stryue for transytorie thynges.

¶ That clerkes shuld rather studie, that theyr bretherne that vary, be brought to peace / than to iudgement.

¶ That a clerke shulde instructe euerye manne with his wordes / and to the entent that poore men shulde not be greued, that they shulde gette theyr lyuyng with somme handye crafte / as saynte Paule dydde.

¶ That clerkes shall not take vpon them the actes or procuracyons of seculer menne.

¶ That laye men shall not make clerkes their factoures or gouernoures vnder them.

¶ That monkes after the counsaile of Calcidonence / shall be holly entyndyng to fastynges and prayers in the places where they renounced the worlde, and that they forsake not theyr monasteries for no busynes of the church ne of the worlde.

¶ That clerkes that customably be players at tables or hunters shalbe prohibyt of houselynge. And saynt Iohan Chrisostome vpon Mathewe the .xxi. chapiter sayth, that as of the temple cometh out all goodnes, so of the temple all euyl procedeth. And therfore hit foloweth that if preesthode be hoole, all the church florisseth: And if it be corrupte, the fayth and vertue of the people fadeth also and falleth away: as if thou see a tree that hath wethered leues / thou knowest therby that there is a defeaute in the roote, so whan thou seest the people lyue oute of good ordre / knowe it for certayne, that theyr presthode is not hole ne sounde. And therfore if it were asked / where is nowe the deuotion and obedience of the inferiours / the defence of knyghtes / the

peace of Christen princis, to the ende that they beynge at a concorde / myghte resiste and feyght agaynst sismatikes and infydels, recouerynge ageyne regions, whiche they haue nowe taken fro chrysten men / and peruerted them: It myght be answered / that they be gone through brekyng of suche lawes.

¶ Many of these sayenges and dyuers other here omytted / be the sayenges of Iohan Gerson chancellor of Paris, in a tretice that is called in latin *Declaratio defectuum virorum ecclesiasticorum*. In whiche treatyse he recyteth also dyuers abusions, wherof I shall recyte parte vnder the maner of questions for shortenes, as he doth, as wel concernyng other countreys as this, that they maye the rather be knowen and auoyded.

¶ Fyrst he asketh this question. What it auayleth / or what profiteth the church the superfluous pompe of prelates and cardinales. And what meaneth hit also, that one man hath foure, fyue, vi. or viii. benefices / wherof he is not percase worthy to haue one, wherwith . viij . persons might be susteyned / that gyue them selfe to lernyng, prayer / & to the seruyce of god? Here (sayth he) take hede. Whether hors / dogges / byrdes, and the superfluous company of men of the church shulde rather eate the patrimonie of the church / than the poore menne of Christe / or that it be expended in the seruice of god, and to the conuersion of infidels / or in suche other werkes of mercye and pietie? O howe many places (sayth he) ordeyned for the seruice of god in Rome and elles where, be nowe through the negligence of prelates desolate & dystroyed? O howe is it sayth he / that the swerde of holye church, that is the sentence of Excommunication / to her owne dyspyte and reproofe, is soo lyghtly drawn out: and for so lyttell a thyng (as some tyme for dette) is soo cruelly executed vpon poore men? What is it also, that one cause vpon a smalle thyng shall contynue so many yeres? and why is not that length of tyme / whiche is the spoyler and robber of poore men / in some couueniente maner cutte

away? why is it not rather mercifully appoynted to the Iewes conuerted / somme reasonable luyunge of theyr owne goodes rather than by extreme necessite to compelle them to forsake the faythe agayne, and to reprove christen men / that they be cruelle and haue no pitie? Iudge ye also (sayth he) whether so great varietie of ymages and pictures be expedient / and whether they doo not peruert som simple persons to idolatrie?

¶ But here it is to be noted, that Iohān Gerson fyndeth no defaulte in settinge vp of ymages, for he commendeth it in many places of his werkes / but he fyndeth defeaute at the varietie of them in theyr peyntynge and garnysshyng with golde / syluer, precious stones, and suche other, with so great ryches about them, that some symple persons myght lyghtly be enduced to beleue some special workynge to be in the ymages, that is not in them in dede. And so he fyndeth defeaute at the abuse of ymages: and not at the settinge vppe of ymages. Discusse also (sayth the sayd Ihoñ Gerson) whether so large exempcions as somme haue, be expedient? and whether it be profytable so to leade them fro theyr ordinaries? Serche also saythe he, if there be not some apocrifate wrytynges, or prayers, or hymnes by processe of tyme (somme of purpose, some by negligence) brought vp to the hurte of the faythe? but than he asketh: whether all prelates and prestes be gyltie in the articles aboue rehersed, and he sayth our lorde forbede it. For lyke as Helyas / whan he had went that all the people of Israel hadde bene fallen to ydolatrie, herde our lorde saye / I haue yet reserued seuen thousand men, that neuer bowed theyr knees before Baale: ryghte so it may be sayde / that nowe in these dayes our lorde hath reserued ryghte many good menne bothe spirituelle and temporalle, that be not gyltie in any of the sayde articles, ne yet partie in any maner to the sayd diuision / whiche throughe helpe of grace, and with the fauoure of the superiours shall be ryghte welle able to brynge the other to good accorde.

¶ An other occasion of this
dyuision.

The thyrde Chapter.

THere be many lawes and decrees made bi the church wherin it is recited, *quod laici sunt clericis infesti* / that is to say, that lay men be cruel to clerkes, and therefore the church hath therupon made dyuers lawes to opresse that crueltie / as in them appereth. And therupon hath folowed, that whan prestes haue red tho lawes, they haue iuged therby / that theyr rulers, haue knowen some great crueltie in laye men agaynste clerkes. For elles they wolde not haue put tho wordes into theyr lawes, and that hath caused many spirituall menne to adiudge the more lyghtly, that suche thynges as laye men haue done concernynge them: hath rather ben done of malice and cruelti, than otherwise, and that iudgement in processe of tyme hath caused them to confedre them selfe togyder, to resiste that malyce / whiche they many tymes by occasion of the sayde wordes, haue iudged to be greater than it was, and haue many tymes recyted the wordes, affermynge them to be true: and therefore they haue extended all lawes, that be made agaynst laye men the more extremely ageynste them: Wherby the people in many countreyes haue bene so ofte greued and oppressed / that they haue grutched maruayllously at it. And whan lay men haue redde tho wordes, they haue taken therby, that the makers of tho lawes, whiche represent in them the estate of all spirituall men, haue iudged that the makers therof thoughte that lay men were cruell agaynst them: and where crueltie is iudged to be, there is no loue. For lyke as nothyng helpeth more to norisshe loue in a man / than that he maye knowe, that the other louethe hym, though he neuer receyued any profyte by hym: so nothyng nouryssheth the more diuision and discorde, than that a man know that an other loueth him not, though percase he know / that he neuer dyd hym hurt, ne entendeth

not to doo. And therefore whan lay men haue by the wordes taken occasyon to thynke, that spirituall men haue adiuged crueltie in them they haue anon iuged / that spirituall men loue them not / and that hath in their hartes broken the charitable loue and obedience, that they ought to haue to spirituall reulers: and thoughe the occasion of this artycle be not vniuersall (for all laye men haue not sene the wordes) yet the reporte of the wordes hath come to the knowlege of many lay men, as well by spirituall men as by temporall men, that haue redde them: whiche by longe continuance hath nourysshed one great branche of this diuision, whiche I suppose verly wylle neuer fully be appeased, tylle the spirittuall gouernours wylle be as diligēt to make lawes / that shall brynge in mekenes among spirituall men / and that may enduce them charitably to suffre some tyme them / that offende them / as they haue ben in tyme past to make lawes to set spirytuall men in suche case / that they may correcte all them and kepe them vnder / that wylle any thyng resist them. And lyke as many spirituall men haue mysordred them selfe ageynste laye men, not onely in suche thynges as be partely touched before, but also in wordes / affermyng somtyme, that laye men loue not prestes: so in lykewyse some laye men mysordre them selfe in wordes agaynst prestes / and wyl saye / that there is no good preste, or that all prestes be nought: and some / as it is sayd / wyl cal them somtyme horeson preestes. And if all these wordes were prohybyte on bothe sydes vpon greatte paynes, I thynke it wold do great good in this behalfe.

¶ An other cause of this
dyuysion.

The fourth Chapter.

THE harde & extreme lawes that are made for layenge vyolent handes vppon clerkes / and suche other spyrytuall persones / hath benne an other cause of this

diuision. For they be verye parciall / as to the reders
 wyll appere / and they be also so generall / that nether
 kynge nor lorde be not excepted in them / but that they
 shulde goo to the pope to be assoyled. And the sayde
 lawes be . xvij . q . iij . *si quis suadente diabolo et ex. de*
sentenc. excommunicac. ca. Non dubium, et ca. mulieres /
et Ca. peruenit: et ca. ea noscitur. & in many other
 chapiters there, *et ex. de sentenc. excommunicac. li. vi. ca.*
religioso. And these lawes be suche, that if a manne in
 violence lay his hande onely vpon a clerke / that he is
 accoursed: but thoughe a clerke bete a laye manne
 wrongefully / and with violence he is not accoursed.
 And this parcialte hath done greatte hurte.

¶ An other occasion of this
 diuision.

The fyfte Chapter.

THoughe there be dyuers good and reasonable
 artycles ordeined bi the church to be redde openlye to
 the people at certayn dayes by the churche therto
 assygned, which comenly is called the generall sen-
 tence: yet many curates and theyr parisshe prestes some-
 tyme rede onely parte of the artycles, and omytte parte
 therof, eyther for shortnes of tyme / or els to take suche
 artycles as serue mooste to theyr purpose. And som-
 tyme, as it is sayd / they adde other excommunications
 after their mynde / that be not putte in to the sayde
 generall sentence. And whan the artycles be so chosen
 out, they sounde to so great parcialite and fauour for
 spirituall men, eyther for paymente of tythes, offerynges /
 mortuaries, and suche other dueties to the churche, or
 for the mayntenaunce of that they calle the lyberties of
 the churche, as that no preeste nor clerke shall be putte
 to aunswere before laye men / specyally where theyr
 bodyes shulde be arrested, or that no impositions shulde
 be layde vpon the churche by temporall power, or
 ageynste them that with violence lay handes vpon preest
 or clerke, or suche other: that the people be greatly

offended therby, and thynke great parcialite in them, and iudge them rather to be made of a pryde and couetyse of the churche: than of any charite to the people, wherby many doo rather dyspyse them than obeye them. And I suppose verly, that this diuisyon wyll neuer be perfytely and charitably reformed and broughte to good accorde, tyll the people come to this poynte / that they shall greatly feare and drede to ronne in to the leeste censure of the churche. And that wyll neuer be / tyll the heedes spyrytuall wyll reforme them selfe, and shewe a fatherly loue vnto the people / and not extende the sentences of the churche vpon so lyghte causes / and vpon suche parcialyte, as they haue doone in tyme paste. And if they wyll reforme these poyntes before rehersed, and somme other hereafter folowyng, I suppose verly, the people wylle gladdely here them and folowe them. For than, as the gospelle saythe / they be theyr very shepardes. Wherfore if it were ordeyned, as well by auctoritie of parlyamente as of conuocation, that suche artycles shulde be deuysed and putte in to the generall sentence / that shulde styrre as well spyrytuall menne / as temporalle men, to loue vertue, and flee vyces, to loue trouthe and playnesse / and to flee falsehoode and doublenes / And that none vpon a payne shulde adde or dymynysshe any thyng concernyng the sayde artycles: I thynke it wolde helpe moche to make a good agrement of this diuision / and to continue the same / with loue and drede betwixte the reulers spirituall and the people, as there oughte to be. And if lyke articles were deuysed to refrayne spirituall menne fro gyuyng hereafter any further occasion to this diuision, or any other lyke: and they to be redde at visitations, Seenes, and suche other like places, where priestes assemble by commandemente of their ordinaries, with certayne peynes to be appoynted by parliament and Conuocation: I thynke hit wolde brynge many thynges in to good order, and helpe moche to a good reformation of this diuision.

¶ Another occasyon of this
 dyuysion.
 The .vi. Chapyter.

AN nother occasyon of this diuision hath partely rysen bi temporal men / that haue desyred moche to haue the familiarity of preestes in theyr games and disportes / and haue vsed to make moche more of them that were compenable / than of them that were not so / and haue called them good felowes and good companions. And many also wolde haue chapleyns, whiche they wolde not onely suffre, but also commande to go on huntynge / hauking / and suche other vayne disportes. And some wolde let them lye amonge other laye seruauntes / where they coulde neyther vse prayer nor contemplation.

¶ And some of them wolde suffre them to go in lyueries, not conuenient in colour for a preest to weare, and wold also many tymes set them to worldly offyces, as to be bayliffes, receyuours / or stewardes: and than whan they haue by suche occasyon bene moche beaten / and greatly exercysed in suche worldly busynes, so that the inwarde deuocion of the harte hath ben in them as colde and as weke in maner, as in laye men, yet if any benefyce hath fallen voyde of theyr gyft, they wolde preferre them to it / eyther as in recompens of theyr busynes and labours, or for that they were good companions: rather than another good deuoute man, that percase is lerned, and kepeth hym selfe fro suche worldely vanities and ydle company, or that is disposed somtyme to admonysshe charytably suche as he is in company with, of suche defaultes as he seeth or hereth of them, and that fewe men do loue to here: And therfore wyll they preferre them that wyl let them a lone. And yet whan they haue done so, they wyl anone speke euyll of prestes / and reporte great lyghtnes in them / and lyghtly noote one preste with an other prestes defeaute, and that whan they haue bene partly occasioners to theyr offences them

selfe, as it is sayd before. And this demenor hath through a longe contynuaunce norysshed somme parte of this dyuysion, and so wyll it do as long as it continueth. And also where by the lawe, prestes oughte to be at the churche on sondays and holy dayes, and helpe forthe the seruyce of god in the quere, & ought also whan they be there, to be ordred by the curate: yet neuer the lesse many men that haue chappleynes / wyll not suffre them to come in the parysse churche, and whan they be there, they wyll nat haue them ordered by the curate but after them selfe: ne see them be in the quere, but sendeth them many tymes on other errandes / and that in worldly matters, as customably as they doo other seruauntes: and many suche chapleynes shewe them selfe euidentely by theyr diligence in that behalfe, to be better contente to do that busynes / than to be in the quere / and that maketh the curates and the neyghbours bothe to thynke a great lyghtnes in them, and do discommende them for it: and whan they here of it, they be also discontented, and theyr maysters bothe, and say the parisshe haue nothyng to do with it / and commenly other chappleynes wyll take parte in suche matters: whervpon dyuers grudges and variances haue rysen in many places that haue done greatte hurt in this behalfe. And as it is in this case of chapleynes, and seruyng prestes / so it is also of chantry prestes & brotherhoode prestes in many places. And as it semeth these articles myghte be holpen thus / that is to say, that it be prohibited vpon a payne / that no priest shall hereafter customablye vse huntynge, hawkyng, cardes, dyce, nor suche other games vnsyttynge for a preeste, though percase he maye as for a recreacion vse some honest disportes for a tyme: ne customablye vse the ale house or tauerne. And if any preste vse any suche vnlauffull games or other demenour, not conuenient for a preste, so moche that the people be offended by it, and fynde defaut at it: that than if he be warned therof by an abbot and a Iustyce of the peace of the shire, where he

is dwellynge, and yet he do not reforme hym selfe: that than beside the sayde peyne, he be by conuocation suspended fro ministryng the sacramentes, and be disabled to take any seruice / tyll he be enabled agayne by the kynge and the ordinarie. And that it be farther enacted / that no man shal haue a chapleyne hereafter, but he haue a stondynge house, and that onely in is stondynge house / and none to haue a rydyng chapleyne vnder the degree of a barone, and that he that hath a stondynge house / and hath also a chapleyne, shall vppon a payn prouide for his chapleyn a secrete lodging with locke and key, that he may lodge fro the commen recourse of the laye seruantes, and vse hym selfe therin conueniently in redynge, prayer, or contemplation / or suche other labours and busynes as be conuenient for a preeste to vse.

¶ An other cause of the sayd
dyuysion
The seuenth Chapyter.

AN other occasyon of the sayd dyuysion hath benne / by reason of diuers sutes, that haue ben taken in the spiritual courtes of office, that is called in latyn / *ex officio*: so that the parties haue not knowen who hath accused them, and thervpon they haue somtyme bene caused to abiure in causes of heresies: somtyme to do penance, or to pay great sommes of money for redemyng therof, which vexacion and charges the partes haue thought haue come to them by the iudges and the offycers of the spirituall courte: for they haue knowen none other accusers / and that hath caused moche people in diuers parties of this realme to thynke great malyce and parcyalyte in the spirituall iudges. And if a man be *ex officio* broughte before the ordinarie for heresy, if he be notably suspected of heresie: he muste purge hym selfe after the wyl of the ordinarie, or be accursed, and that is by the lawe, *extra de hereticis. ca. Ad abolendam*. And that is thoughte by many to be a very harde

lawe, for a man may be suspected and not gyltie, and so be driuen to a purgation withoute profe or without offence in hym, or be accursed: and it appereth *de hereticis. li. vi.* in the chapiter *In fidei fauorem* / that they that be accursed and also partyes to the same offence / may be wytnes in heresy: and in the chapter *accusatus perag. licet*, it appereth / that if a man be sworn to say the trouthe concernynge heresye / as well of hym selfe as of other / and he fyrste confesseth nothyng, and after contrary to his fyrste sayenge he appeleth bothe hym selfe and other: if it appere by manifeste tokens, that he doth it not of lightnes of mynde / ne of hatred / nor for corruption of money: that than his wytnes in fauoure of the faythe shall stonde, as well ageynste hym selfe, as agaynste other: and yet hit appereth euydently in the same Courte, and in the same matter, that he is a periured person. This is a dangerous lawe / and more lyke to cause vntrewe and vnlawfulle men to condempne innocentes / than to condempne offenders. And it helpethe lyttell, that if there be tokens, that it is not done of hatred / nor for corruption of money: that it shulde be taken: for some time a wolfe may shewe hym selfe in the apparaile of a lambe. And if the iudge be parciall / suche tokens may be sooner accepted than truly shewed. And in the chapiter there, that begynneth *Statuta quedam*, it is decreed / that if the bysshope or other enquerors of heresy / se that any great daunger myghte comme to the accusours or wytnes of heresie by the great power of them that be accused: that than they maye commaunde, that the names of the accusours or wytnesse shall not be shewed but to the bysshop or enquerours, or suche other lerned men as be called to them / and that shall suffyce, though they be not shewed to the partie. And for the more indempnitie of the sayde accusours and wytnesse it is there decreed, that the bysshope or inquerours maye enioyne suche as they haue shewed the names of suche wytnes vnto / to kepe them close vpon payne of excom-

munication, for disclosynge that secrete without theyr lycens. And surely this is a sore lawe, that a man shall be condempned, and not knowe the names of them that be causers therof.

¶ And though the sayd lawe seme to be made vpon a good consideration for the indempnytie of the accusours and wytnes, yet it semeth, that that consyderacyon canne not suffyce to proue the lawe reasonable. For it semeth that the accusours and wytnes myght be saued fro daunger by a nother way, and that is by this way. If the bysshop or inquerours drede, that the accusours and wytnes might take hurt, as is sayd before: than might they shewe it to the kynge and to his counsaile / besechyng his grace of helpe in that behalfe, to saue and defend the accusours and wytnes fro the extorte power of them that be accused: And if they wold do so: it is not to suppose, but that the kynge wold sufficiently prouide for theyr saue garde: But for as moche as it shulde seme, that spirituall menne somewhat pretende to punyssh heresies only of theyr owne power, without calling for any assistance of the temporal power, therefore they make suche lawes as may helpe forth theyr purpose, as they thynke: but surely that is not the charitable way / to put the knowlege of the names of the accusours and wytnes fro him that is accused, for if he knewe them, he might percase alledge and proue so great and so vehemente cause of rancore and malyce in them that accuse him, that theyr sayenges by no lawe ought not to stonde agaynste hym. And that spyrytuall men pretende, that they only shulde haue the hole inquerie & punysshment of heresie, it appereth *extra de hereticis. li. vi. ca. vt inquisitionis / perag. prohibemus:* where all powers, and all lordes temporall and reulers be prohibite / that they shall not in any maner take knowlege or Iudge vpon heresie, sithe it is mere spirituall, and he that inquereth of heresie / taketh knowlege of heresie. And so the summe called *summa rosella*, taketh it, *titulo excommunicac. perag. iiij.* And if that be true, it

semeth than that all iustices of peace in this realme be excommunicate: for they, by auctoryte of the kynges commissyons and also by statute, enquire of heresies. And I thynke it is not in the church to prohybit that: for though it were so / that the temporall men maye not iudge, what is heresie and what not, yet they maye / as it semeth, by theyr owne auctorytie enquire of it / and enforme the ordynarie / what they haue founde. And also if a metropolytane with all his clergie and people of his dioces fell in to heresie: it wolde be harde to redresse it without temporal power. And therfore temporal men be redye and are bounde to be redy to oppresse heresies, whan they ryse: as spirituall men be. And therfore spirituall men may not take all the thanke to them selfe, whan heresies be punysshed, as though theyr charite and power onely dyd it: for they haue the fauour and help of temporall men to do it / or elles many tymes it wolde not be brought aboute. Neuertheles myn entent is not to proue the said lawes al holly to be cruel & vnresonable, for I know wel, that it is right expedient, that strait lawes be made for punysshment of heresies that be heresies in dede, more rather than any other offence, and that the discretion of the iudges spirituall maye ryghte well aswage the rygour of the sayde lawes, and vse them more fauorably ageynst them that be innocentes, than agaynst them that be wylfull offendours, if they wyll charitably serche for the truthe. But surely if the sayde lawes shulde be putte into the handelynge of cruell iudges, it myghte happen that they shulde many tymes punyshe innocentes / as well as offenders, but I truste in god, it is not soo. Neuer the les whether it be so or not / certayn it is, that there is a great rumour amonge the people / that it is so, and that spirituall men punysse not heresie only for zeale of the faith, and of a loue and a zeale to the peple, with a fatherly pitie to them that so offende, as they ought to do, howe great offenders so euer they be / but that they do it rather to oppresse them that speake any thyng agaynst the worldly power

or rychesse of spyrytuall men, or agaynst the great confederacie / that (as many men saye) is in them to maynteygne hit. And though many spyrytuall men may be founde / that haue ryght many great vertues and great gyftes of god / as chastitye / lyberalite, pacyence, sobrenesse / temperance, connyng / and suche other / yet it wylle be harde to fynde any oone spirituall man: that is not enfecte with the sayd desyre and affection to haue the worldly honour of preestes exalted and preferred, & therfore if any lay man report any euyll of a preest, though it be openly knowen, that it is as he saythe, yet they wyl be more diligente to cause the laye man to cease of that sayeng, than to do that in them is to refourme that is a mysse in the preeste, that it is spoken of, takynge as hit were an occasion to doo the lesse in suche reformatiōs / bycause laye men speke so moche agaynste them: But surely that wyl be none excuse to spirituall rulers afore god, whan he shall aske accompte of his people, that were commytted vnto theyr kepynge.

¶ And if this diuision be suffered to contynue / it is not vnylike / but that greatte bondynge shall folowe on both partyes, wherby greatte hurte and inconuenience maye growe vnto moche people. And I see none that may sette a meane way betwene these extremities, ne that mindeth any thyng to do good in it, but the kynges grace and his parlyamente. And I thynke veryly / that they are bounde in conscience to folowe it with effecte, tylle the diuision be clerely cessed. Our lorde of his mercy sende them gracc to do it. Amen.

¶ An other occasion of this diuysion.

The eyght Chapyter.

IT is a commen opynyō amonge doctours, that none is an heretike for that onely that he erreth, but for that he defendeth opynatyfelye his errour. And therfore he

that erreth of symplicite may in no wyse be sayde an heretyke. And *summa rosella* / in the tytyle *hereticus in principio*, sayth, that a man may erre, and meryte therby: and he putteth this example. If a symple vnlearned man here the preachynge of his bysshop / that preacheth happily agaynst the faith / and he beleueth it with a redy mynde to obey: this man meriteth / and yet he erreth: but that is to be vnderstonde where ignoraunce excuseth. Than it semeth, that it is not ynough to proue that a man is an heretike / for that he hath holden opinions ayenste that the church teacheth, ne that he oughte not to make any purgation nor abiuration for it: for that that he helde in suche case was not his fayth, but the faythe of the churche was his fayth, though happily he were not than fully auysed of it. And therfore saint Aidan / whan he helde the wronge parte of kepynge of Easter / was no heretyke, and some say that saynt Chadde was of the same opinyon as saynt Aidan was / whiche in lykewyse was no heretike, for theyr desyre was to knowe the truthe: and therfore it is not redde / that they made eyther pourgacyon / or abiuration, ne yet the abbotte Ioachim / whiche neuer the lesse erred / for he was redy to submyt hym to the determination of the churche, and therfore he was neyther holden as an heretyke, ne compelled to abiure. Than if this be sothe / hit were great pitie / if it shulde be trewe as is reported / that there shulde be so great a desyre in some spirituelle men to haue men abiured / or haue the extreme punishment for heresie, as hit is sayde there is. For as some haue reported, if any woll wytnes, that a man hath spoken any thyng, that is heresie / thoughe he speke it onely of an ignoraunce, or of a passion, or if he canne by interrogatories and questions be dryuen to confesse any thyng, that is prohibyted by the churche: anone they wyll dryue hym to abiure, or holde hym atteynted withoute examynynge the intente or cause of his sayenge / or whether he hadde a mynde to be reformed or not: and that is a verye soore waye, oure lorde be more mercy-

full to oure soules, thanne so greuouesly to punysshē vs
for euery lyght defaute

And here some saye / that bycause there is so
greate a desyre in spirituelle men, to haue men abiure,
and to be nooted with heresie, and that some, as it were
of a polycie do noyse hit / that the royalme is full of here-
tyckes, more than it is in dede: that hit is verye peryl-
lous / that spirituelle men shulde haue auctoritie to
arrest a man for euery lyght suspection / or complaynte
of heresie, tylle that desyre of punysshement in spirituall
menne be cessed and goone: but that they shulde make
processe agaynst them to brynge them in vppon payne
of cursynge: and thanne, if they tarye fourty dayes, the
kynges lawes to brynge them in by a wrytte *De excom-
municato capiēdo* / and so to be broughte fourthe oute of
the kynges Gaole to aunswere. But surely / as it is some-
what touched before in the . vii . chap. it semeth that the
church in time past hath done what they coulede to
brynge about that they might punysshē heresie of them
selfe / without callynge for any helpe therin of the
seculer power.

¶ And therfore they haue made lawes that heretykes
myghte be arrested and put in pryson, and stokkes if
nede were, as appereth *Clementinis de hereticis. cap.
multorum querela*. And after at the speciall callynge on
of the spiritualitye, it was enacted by parlyament, that
ordinaries myght areste men for heresy: for somme men
thynke, that the sayde Clementyne was nat of effect in
the kynges lawe to areste any man for heresie: But if a
man were openly and notably suspected of heresie, and
that there were sufficient recorde and wytnes ayenst
hym, & there were also a doubt that he wolde fle and not
appere, wherby he myghte enfecte other: it semeth con-
uenient that he be arested by the body: but not vpon
euery lyght compleynt, that full lightly maye be vn-
trewe. And it wyll be ryght expedient that the kynges
hyghnes and his counsaile loke specyally vpon this
matter, and not to ceasse, tylle hit be brought to more

quietnes than it is yet, and to see with greatte diligence, that pride, couetyse / nor worldly loue be no iudges / nor innocentes be punysshed, ne yet that wylfull offenders go not without dewe correction.

¶ An other cause of this
dyuision.

The nynth Chapter.

AN other occasyon of this dyuision hath risen by the extremities / that haue ben shewed in sutes taken in the spirituall courtes / by spirituall menne / for there hath therby risen an opinioⁿ amonge moche people, that a man were as good or better to let a spirituall man haue at the begynnyng all that he demandeth as to stryue with hym in the spirituall lawe for it. In somoche, that as hit is sayde, suche extremities haue bene v^sed in the spirituall lawe for tythes / that no prescription, custome, composition, nor other plee shall be admytted in the spirituall lawe ageynste them. And surely if that be trewe / it is a great parcialyte, and a great denyenge of lustyce. And therfore it wolde be reformed. And as for mortuaries they be adnulled all redy by statute / but yet begynnethe to ryse oone thyng to maynteyne the fyrste dyuysion concernynge suche mortuaries, if hit be suffered to contynue / and that is, that many curates, not regardynge the kynges statute in that behalfe, perswade theyr parysshens / whan they be sycke / to beleue that they can not be saued / but they restore them as moche as the olde Mortuarye wolde haue amounted to. And surelye the curates, that by that meanes gette any recompence, by gyfte / or by queste, are bounde in conscience to restitution. For he is deceyuedde in his gyfte or bequeste. For it procedeth not of a free libertie, but vpon that vntrewe infourmacion. And lyke as a contracte / wherby a man is deceiued in that thinge that is solde / holdeth not in conscience, as if a manne selle copper for golde, or wyne myxte with water for pure wine: and so it is whan a man maketh a gyfte or a

bequeste vppon an vntrue surmyse. And that no man is bounden in conscience to restore for his Mortuary now, sythe the statute of Mortuaries was made, it maye appere thus. It is holden by them that be lerned in the lawe of this royalme, that the parlyamente hath an absolute power / as to the possession of all temporall thynges within this realme, in whose handes so euer they be, spirituelle or temporalle, to take them froo one manne, and gyue theym to an nother / withoute anye cause or consideration. For if they doo it, it byndeth in the lawe. And if there be a consideration, than it byndethe in lawe and conscience. And certayne hit is, that all suche Mortuaries were temporalle goodes / though they were claymed by spirituelle menne: And the cause why they were taken awaye was / for as moche as there were fewe thynges within this realme, that caused more variaunce amonge the people, than they dyd, whan they were suffred, for they were taken so farre agaynst the order of the kynges lawes, and ageynst Iustice and ryght, as shall here after appere. Fyrste they were taken not onely after the deth of the husbonde / but also after the deth of the wyfe / whiche after the lawes of the realme had no goodes, but that it was taken of the husbondes goodes, and they were taken also of seruantes and chyldren as well infantes as other. And if a man died by the way, and had an housholde in an other place / he shulde paye mortuaries in bothe places. And sometyme whan the parson / and vicar of a church appropried / varied for the mortuaries, the people, as it hath ben reported / haue ben enforced, er they coulde sytte in reste, to pay in some places mortuaries to them bothe. And sometyme the curates wolde prohibyte poore men to sell theyr goodes in tyme of theyr sicknes / if they were suche goodes as were lyke to be theyr mortuaries: for they wolde say it was done in defraude of the church. And if the quicke goodes were better than the deed goodes, they wolde in somme places take the quycke: And if the deade goodes were

better than the quicke, they wolde take the deed. And the Mortuaries must be delyuered forthe with / or elles the bodye shulde not be buried. And they prescribed to haue ryght to mortuaries onely by the prescription of the spiritual lawe. And vnder that maner mortuaries encreassed dayly in many places / where they hadde not bene vsed before / and of lykelyhode wolde haue gone farther, if they had not bene stopped in tyme. And they were in many places taken in suche maner that it made the people to thinke, that the curates loued their mortuaries better than theyr lyues. And thervpon rose in many places great diuision and grudge betwyxte them / whiche broke the pece / loue / and charite that shulde be betwene the curate and his parysshens / to the great vnquietnes of many of the kynges subiectes / as well spirituall as temporall, and to the great daunger and perylle of theyr soules. For these causes the sayd mortuaries be adnulled by parlyament, as well in conscience as in the lawe: And yet it is sayde, that some curates vse great extremities concernyng the sayde mortuaries, an other waye: and that is this. If the executours at the firste request pay not the money / that is appoynted by the statute / they wil anon haue a citation ayenste hym, And there he shalbe so handled, that as it is sayd, hit hadde bene mooste commenly moche better to hym / to haue payde his olde mortuarie than the costes and expenses that he shall pay there. And if it be so, it wold be reformed. And surely this matter wold be groundly looked vpon: for som men say, that the sute in that case ought to be taken in the kynges court, and not in the spirituall courte.

¶ Other occasions of this
dyuysion.

The . x . Chapyter.

THE extreme and couetous demenoure of some curates with theyr parishe#s, wherof mencion is partly

made hereafter, hath ben an other cause of this diuision : And though many spirituall men be not felowes with them in the extremities: yet none of them that haue ben beste and most indifferent / haue not done any thyng to refourme them, that vse suche extremytees / ne to make them thynke, that any defaut is in them in that doyng, but rather, as hit were with a deffe eare / haue dyssimuled it, and suffered it passe ouer, and haue endeouored them selfe more to oppresse all the lay people, that wolde speke against it / than to refourme them that do it. And some of the sayde extremities be those. Some say, that in takyng of tythes curates in some places wylle haue the . x . parte of euery thyng within the parysshe/that is tythable, though their predecessours withoute tyme of mynde haue bene contented withoute hit: and thoughe there be sufficient besyde for the curat to lyue on, or though he hath not knowen, but that percase somme other thyng in olde tyme hath bene assigned in recompence for it. And in som place is asked, as it is sayd, tythe bothe of chekyns and egges / and in somme place of mylke and chese, and in some place the x . parte of the grounde, and also of that that falleth on the grounde. And in some places is claymed tithe of seruantes wages without deduction: And it is but in fewe places / that any seruante shall go quyte without som tyth paying / though he haue spent al in syckenes / or vpon his father and mother / or suche other necessary expenses.

And in som places if a paryshen haue not ten calues that yere, the curate wyll put the tythyng of tyll an other yere / and than to take a tythe calfe, accomptyng bothe the yeres to gither / rather than he wolde the first yere take the money, that is in that case assygned by the lawe. And they do lyke wyse of lambes / pygges, and suche other thynges. Also in many places the curates take more at maryages, buryals, and obytes than they were wonte to do, and wyll not bury a stranger / that dyeth within the parysshe, but he haue some what for it.

Also some curates / whan there is any varyance betwene hym and any of his paryshens / or that any of his parishens be in his dette / hath prohibyte them from houselle tyll he be payde. And it hath ben sometyme sene, that whan a poore man hath bene sette to be howseled / the curate hath before al the paryshe / vpon some suche displeasure caused hym to ryse and goo awaye, without houselle, to his rebuke. And though these abusions be not vsed vnyuersallye (god forbede they shulde) for there be many good curates and other spirituall men, that wolde not vse them for the wynnynge or lesynge of no erthly thynges: yet whan people of dyuers ccuntreys mete to gether, and one of them telleth an other of some suche extremities in some curates in his countrey / and the other lyke wyse to hym: anone they esteme suche couetyse and extreme delynge to be in all curates. And though they do not well in that doinge, for the offence of one prieste is no offence to an other / if they so wyll take it: yet spirituall men do no thyng therin to brynge the people oute of that iudgement / but suffre suche abusions to be vsed by some of them continually without correction, and (as I haue sayd before) wyl rather labour to stoppe the mouthes of them / that wyll fynde defaulte at suche demenoure / than to helpe to refourme them / that do it. And surely as longe as they do so / it wyll be verye harde to haue a good vnitie and peace in this behalfe.

¶ Other causes of the sayde
diuysion.

The . xi . Chapyter.

AN nother thyng / that hath caused the people to grudge agaynste the pope and other spyrytuall reulers hath bene the grauntyng of pardons for money. For whan hit hath benne noysed, that the money shulde be bestowed to somme charitable vse / as vppon the buyldynge of saynte Peters church in Rome, or to suche

other charitable vse: it hath appered aft. warde evidently, that it hath not ben disposed to that vse. And that hath caused many to thynke / that the sayde pardons were graunted rather of couetice, than of charite, or for the helthe of the soules of the people. And ther-vpon some haue fallen in maner in to dispisyng of pardons, as though pardous graunted vppon suche couetise shulde nat auayle. And because the people be greatly deceyued in that iudgement, for as to the taker the pardon is good, thoughe the grantor offende in his grantyng of the pardon. Therefore it is ryght necessarye, that the rulers take hede, that pardons be here-after granted in suche charitable maner, that the people shall haue no occasion ne colour to thynke / that they be granted of couetice: And than the grauntours shall profytte them selfe in theyr graunte / and the people also in theyr takyng, and elles it maye lyghtly hurte them bothe. And verily it were greatte pitie, that any mys-lykyng of pardons shulde growe in the hertes of the people for any mysdemenour in the grauntours or other wyse / for they be ryght necessarie. And I suppose / that if certain perdots were granted- frely without money / for sayeng of certein prayers therin to be appoynted / that all mislykyng of pardons wolde shortly cesse and vanysshe away.

¶ An other cause of this
diuision.

The . xij . Chaptyer.

AN other cause of this diuision hath ben by reason of dyuers lawes and constitutions / which haue ben made by the church / some tyme by the Pope / some-tyme by legates / or by Metropolitanes in theyr prouince: wherin they haue many tymes exceded theyr auctoritie, and attempted in many thynges agaynste the lawe of the realme. And yet neuer the lesse many

pristes haue gyuen full credence to them, for they haue thought that the makers therof, whiche were the heedes of the churche, wolde not make any lawe, but by good and sufficient auctoritie. And thervpon it hath folowed / that whan any doubte or question hath rysen vpon the sayde lawes: all spirituall men in maner wolde sticke faste to the lawes, and many temporall men by reason of a comen vse and custome, that they haue sene to the contrarie, haue resisted them: whervpon haue rysen in many places greatte stryfe / variaunces, and great expences in the spirituall lawe. Wherby many temporall men haue thought, that spirytual courtes be rather vsed for maintenaunce of couetise, than for ministration of iustice. And thoughe, with the mercy of oure lorde, the trouthe is not so vniuersally: yet some diligence wolde be taken to remoue that iudgement fro the people.

¶ And of these lawes is the constitution of Boniface, the archebysshoppe of Canterbury / wherby it is decreed / that he that letteth a woman couert to make her wyll / or that letteth it to be proued / is accursed: and the lawe of the realme is, that a woman couerte hath no goodes, that she may make any wyll of / excepte it be of a thyng in action, or that she were executrix before. And if she were so, than with lycence of her husbonde she may make an executour / to the intent he may leuye the dette, or fulfyl the firste wyl. An other lyke lawe is of the decree of the ryghte reuerende father in god Robert Wynchelsye / late archbysshoppe of Canturbury, made agaynst the comen custome of the realme for tithe of wood: aboue . xx . yere not to be payde / whiche custome was confermed by the statute made in the . xlv . yere of kynge . E . the . iij . that is comunly called the statute of *Silua cedua*: By reason of whiche decree great sutes, variances, and expenses haue ensued and wyll ensue, if it be suffered. Wherfore the sayde estatute wolde be thoroughly sene: And if it be good, than not to suffre any decree to stonde ageynst it, and elles clerely to breake it. Other lyke lawes be the lawes

that be made by the church / that executours shall not, vpon payne of cursynge / adminystre / tyll they haue proued the testament: where the lawe of the realme is that they may: & so reason wold that they shulde be: for els the goodes of the testatour might be embeselled & loste for euer. And that lay men may not put clerkes to answer before them, specially in criminal causes. And for the strength of thō lawes many spirituall men haue reported openly / & that sometime in open sermons / that such putting to answer of pristres before lay men is prohibited by the law of god, whervpon me thynketh are greatly to be noted these poyntes, that is to say, that if it be as they say, that it is ayenst the lawe of god, that than great defeaute is in them, that they haue done no more to reforme it than they haue done / for cleryng the conscience of so many people, as than daily offend therby. And if it be not as they say / than they maynteyne an vntruth, which is a great offence in men of such grauite & perfection, as they be. And they also be therby bounden to restitution to the temporall princis, which ought to haue theyr fynes & amerciamentes vpon such sutes, as shulde be taken ageinst pristres in theyr courtes: wherof they be many tymes excluded by reson of the sayde pretended priuilege. And if it coulde be sufficiently proued, that it is ayenste the lawe of god / to put pristres to answer before lay men: than degradynge of them coulde not helpe: For notwithstanding the disgradyng, the character abydeth / & so he is a priest styll, as he was before. And I suppose verily / that if it coulde haue ben sufficiently proued, to be ageynst the lawe of god, the kynges progenitors wolde in tyme paste haue assented to it. And that the kynges grace and all his realme, wolde with good wyll also conforme them self to it, but that was neuer sufficiently proued / as farre as I haue harde. And to that that some spirituall men saye, that it is an auncient custome / and a custome approued / that priestes in felonies, murthers, and tresons shuld not be putte to answer before laye men,

and that by reason of that olde custome / they oughte to be priuiledged in that behalfe, though it can not be *proued* directly by the lawe of god: to that it may be answered, that there was neuer yet suche custome in this realme aproued. For prestes haue ben arayned alway for treson and felony before the kynges Iustices. And for treson it hath ben sene, that they haue ben put in execution, as it appereth by a compleynt made by the clergie in the parlyament holden in the . xxv . yere of kyng Edwarde the thyrde *pro Clero*, where the clergie complayned, that priestes, monkes / & religious were contrary to the liberties of the churche (as they sayd) put to dethe: and vppon that complaynt it was enacted, that all maner clerkes / as well secular as religious, that shulde fro thens forthe be conuicte before any Iustice secular, for any maner of treson or feloni / touching other persons than the kyng or his royal maiestie / shulde haue fro thens forthe freely the priuilege of holye churche, and be without lette or delaye deliuered to the ordinarie / them demaundyng. And it semeth that by that terme, Clerke, in that statute *pro Clero*, is vnderstonde as wel clerkes that be within orders, as clerkes that can rede as clerkes / and yet be not within orders / for they shall haue theyr clergie in petite treason / whiche be comunly taken to be suche treasons / as be recited in the later ende of the declaration of treason / made in the sayde . xxv . yere of Ed. the . iii . wherof the eschete belongeth to the lordes of the fee. But in the other treasons, that be recited in the said Declaration, wherof the forfayture is onely to the kyng: none shall haue his clergie by the common lawe / clerke within orders nor lay man, that can rede, ne there is not any remedy provided for no maner of clerkes in tho tresons. For they touch the kyng and his royall maiestie. And therfore they be excepted in the said statute *pro Clero* / as before appereth / and be comenly called high tresons: and of that nature of treason is now wasshing, clippinge / & flinge of money: for the

statute made *anno. ij. H. v.* is that it shalbe treson to the kynge & to the realme. And therfore no clerke can there haue his clergy.

¶ And here I wolde moue a lytell farther / that if a clerke within ordres bren a house bycause he hadde not certayne money layde in a secrete place, as he appoynted by a byll: whether he shal haue his pryuylege: for the statute made in that case, is that suche brennyng shall be hyghe treason. And yet the forfeiture is gyuen to the lordes of the fee. &c. And the sayd statute is *anno. viii. H. vi. ca. vi.* And sithe it is haute treason / many men suppose, that he shall not haue his clergy: but I comytte that to other / that lyst to treate farther of that matter: But for counterfaytynge and forgyng the coyne of an other realme / I suppose a clerke shulde not be put in execution, if he wyll aske his priuilege. For the statute is no more, but that it shall be treason / and sayeth not that it shall be treason to the kynge and to the realme / as the other statute dothe. And therfore I suppose / that by the sayd statute *pro clero* he shal haue his clergy. yet neuer the lesse that statute *pro clero* in one poynte declareth the comen lawe to be more strayer agaynste the priuilege of clergy / than many men take it to be: and that is in this poynt. If a clerke stele any of the kynges goodes, that he shall not haue the priuilege of his clergie. For the sayd statute is / that he shall haue his clergie in treason or felony concernynge other persons than the kynge or his royall maiestie. And therfore for felony concerning the kynge selfe, it semeth that a clerke at the comen lawe shulde not haue had the priuilege of his clergie: but that I remyt to other / that be lerned in the lawes of the realme. And I haue spoken the ferther of these matters / because as me semeth / it were ryght expedient / that spirituall men shuld knowe them, & such other as most specially pertain vnto them, more perfytely than they haue done in tyme past: and more rather to coueyte to haue the true vnderstanding of them, than to report / that the

makers of them offended in the makinge, specially seinge that they were made by the kyng / with the assent of all the lordes spirituall and temporall / & of the commens, and some of them at the special request and petition of the spiritualtie.

¶ And here me thynketh I myght saye a lyttell farther in this matter, and that (as it is lyke) the trouthe wyl proue, that is to say: that as longe as the iurysdyctions spirituall and temporall be suffred to stande in suche case as they do nowe, that temporall men shall say / that spirituall men make lawes, that they haue none auctorite to make, and that spirituall men shall saye, that temporall men make lawes / that be agaynst the libertie of the churche / wherfore they be accursed, and no other order taken to haue it knowen / what is the libertie of the churche / and what not / than is yet taken: It wyll be longe er this diuision wyll be fully appeased. Than to retourne to the priuileges of clerkes. The trouthe is, that yet clerkes within orders be more fauoured than clerkes that be not within orders. For if a preest be arrayned of felony, and confesseth the felonye, or is founde gyltie / and than he prayeth the benefyte of his priuilege, and sheweth the letters of his orders: in that cas the iudges wyll nat compell hym to rede. For sithe the churche hath admitted hym to orders, the lawe presumeth that he can rede as many men saye. And ouer that if a preest wolde wylfully forsake his priuilege, and confesse the felony and become a prouour: yet if the ordinarie wyll aske hym as a membre of the churche, and shewe the letters of his orders, he shall haue hym, and that is by the statute called *articuli cleri*. For before that statute he shulde haue bene compelled to haue done battayle, if the approuee wolde haue waged hit. And also if a preste / after that he hath confessed the felony / or after that he is founde gyltie / wyll pray his clergie, and after of wylfulnes he wyl renounce his priuilege: yet if the ordinarie wyll aske hym, he shall haue hym: and that is by the

commen lawe. But in this matter hit is a doubte to many men / whether it suffyseth to the ordinary only to afferme, that he is a preste / and so to aske him: or that he muste shewe the letters of his orders. And I suppose, that it is sufficient / if he affyrme / that he is within ordres, though he shew not the letters of his orders, nor yet the regestryng of them. And that semeth by the statute of *an. iiij. H. vij. ca. xiiij* where it appere[t]h, that the Certificat of the ordinarie / that he is within orders, shulde suffyce. And if his certificat shulde suffice / than it semeth that his sayeng in his owne persone / that the other is a clerke, shulde suffice.

¶ And in the statute made *anno . xxiiij . Henrici octavi. ca. i.* hit appereth, that clerkes within holy orders, haue greater priuilege, concernynge theyr clergie, than clerkes / that be not within ordres. But neuer the lesse I leue that matter to the determination of other.

¶ But admitte / that there had ben such a custome receyued and admitted in the realme, that preestes shulde not be put to aunswere before lay men, and that than this question were asked, whether the parlyament myght breake that custome? To that question (as it semeth) it maye be aunswered thus: That if that custome turne into an occasyon and boldenes of thefte and murder / and other like thynges agaynst the kynges peace, and that as well in many spirituelle men as in temporall men by example of spiritual men / whiche by reason of that priuilege take a boldnes to offend: It were not only a laful dede to breke that custom / but a right good & meritorious dede to do it, and a dede that the kynge is bounde to at his coronacion. For he is sworne to maynteigne the good customes of his realme and to breake the euyll. And sure hit is, that all customes that be agaynste his peace / be euyll, as this shulde be / if that effecte shulde folowe of it, as before appereth. And that the kynge is specyallye bounde by his lawes to aduoyde all thynges, that may be a lette to

his peace / it appereth by the statute that is called *statutum de defentione armorum*, where it is sayd amonge other thynges thus. To the kynge it appertayneth by his royall seignory to defende strongly all armes, and all other force agaynst his peace as ofte as shall please hym. And that he maye punyssh them that do agaynst his peace after the lawes and customes of his realme. And that all his lordes spyrytuall and temporall are bounde to ayde hym therin as theyr souerayne lorde. And syth murders and felonyes are specially agaynst the kynges peace: therfore the sayd custome shulde be agaynst his peace / if such effecte shulde folowe of it / as before appereth. Wherefore it semeth, that he shuld than haue auctoritie in his parlyamente to breake that custome / as a thyng agaynst the peace and quyeteness of his people. And he that hath auctoritie to aduoyde suche thynges as breke his peace / hath also auctoritie to preuent and deuoyde suche thynges, as maye gyue occasion to the breking of his peace, as that custome shulde do / if the sayde effecte shulde folowe of it. And certayne hit is / that it hurteth no more a good prieste / than an euyll preest is punysshed, than it hurteth a lay man / that he is punysshed: ne no more than it hurteth a good laye man or woman / than an other is euyll and is punysshed for it. And I suppose verily, that this diuision wyl neuer be perfytely appeased, tylle preestes and religious wyll be as lothe to here of any defaute in a lay man or laye woman as in a preste or in a religious persone. And that wyll neuer be as longe as the great confederacies and singularite continueth amonge preestes and amonge religious persons, as it dothe now. The good lay men and women must paciently beare the euyll reporte of other laye men and women, that be of the same condicion as they be, and so they shalbe taught bi spiritual men / that they ought to do: but they wyl not do so them selfe. In so moche that I suppose verily / that many a preeste & religious wold grudge more ayenst an euyll reporte made of a preest or religious /

that in dede were gyltie / in pryde / couetyse / angre malyce, glotony, lechery or suche other, than they wolde be ayenst a lyke euyll report made of a laye manne or a laye woman / that were not gyltie.

¶ Dyuers other lawes there be, that be made by the churche, that many menne thynke the churche hadde no power to make: As it is, that no benefice shalbe let to a lay man, but a spirituall man be ioyned with hym: Or that it shall not be let aboue . iii . yeres. And also the constitution of a dimission noble, and suche other, that were to longe to reherse nowe. For these suffice to shew/ that by such lawes made by the churche, that they had no power to make any lawe of, hathe rysen one speciall cause of this diuision.

¶ An other occasion of this
dyuysion.

The . xiiij . Chapyter.

AN other occasion of this diuision hath rysen by reason of feyned visitations/vsed in tymes paste by ordynaryes and other, that haue hadde power to visyte houses of relygion and churches in the contrey: For there is a comen opinion in maner vniuersally rysen amonge the people / that such visitations / after the maner as they be vsed / do litel good, and rather encrece vice than vertue. And verily the more pitie is / it semeth to be true as they say. For it is vsed / that at suche visitations / visitours take of the houses of religion that they visyte, some certayne pencyon: And for visitation of churches they haue of some certayne church, mete and drynke / where they visyte, and than they gather some certayne duetie of all the churches within certayne circute in that contrey. And neuer the les/ as the comen opinion gothe, comenly they refourme nothyng / but as they fynde it / so they

leue it / and neyther comfort they vertue ne punyssh
 vice / but many tymes the contrarie, by some worldely
 demeanour or euylle example, that the people see in
 them. And thus whan the people haue sene, that
 offenders / as well spirituall as temporall / contynue
 after the visitation, as they dydde before: they haue
 coniectured, that the ordinaries and visitors do visite
 more rather for theyr pencions, than for any good order
 or reformation. And this, through a longe continuance/
 hath brought the people to iudge great couetice in suche
 visitours, whiche commonly be of the greatest rulers of
 the spiritualltie / wherby the people by lyttell and lyttell
 haue fallen in to a dispraysinge of such visitations / and
 into a myslykynge of theyr rulers spirituall, and of suche
 pompe and worldely behauour, as is shewed by them at
 suche visitations. And than whan suche visitours and
 spirituall rulers haue perceyued / that the people haue
 misliked theyr visitations, they haue dysdayned it / and
 haue continued styll as they dyd before: and so hath the
 grudge betwene them contynued secretly of longe tyme.
 And surely it is to be moche meruayled that visitours
 wyll attempte to take at theyr visitations any pencion or
 imposition of them that they visite / contrary to the good
 lawes that be made in the .vi. boke / *ti. de sensibus. ca.
 romana / et exigit.* Wherin great penalties be set vpon
 them that take any pension at theyr visitations / con-
 trary to the sayde lawes, as in the same doth appere.
 And but there be any secret dispensation in that behalfe:
 many be suspended / that dayly ministre. And if there
 be any suche secrete dispensation, hit is to doute, that
 the graunte therof proceded not of charite, but of some
 couetyse and singularite: yf the very grounde therof
 were thoroughly serched. Wherefore hit were ryght
 expedient, that suche visitations were set in suche order,
 as well by spirituall authorite, as by temporal auctorite /
 that good men hereafter myght therby be comforted,
 and euyll men corrected & reformed, to the good
 example of all other that shulde here of it.

¶ An other cause of this
dyuysion.

The . xiiii . Chapter.

AN nother cause of the sayd dyuysion hath rysen by occasion of the great multytude of lycences and dispensations / that haue benne made for money by popes and bysshops in tyme paste / contrary to dyuers good lawes made by the churche / as of pluralites ayenst the lawe that no man shulde haue but one benefice, and of lycence to curates to be none resident, of capacities to men of relygion / and that none shall take orders ne be promoted afore a certayne age / and suche other: whiche lycences and dispensacions haue ben so accustomedlye graunted for money without cause reasonable / that great inconuenyences haue folowed vppon hit, to the great grudge, and murmour, and euyll example of all the people.

¶ An other cause of the said
dyuysion.

The . xv . Chapyter.

AN other occasyon of the sayde diuision hath rysen by a great laxnes and lyberty of lyuyng / that the people haue sene in many religious men. For they say / that though religious men professe obedience and pouerty, yet many of them haue & wil haue their owne wil, with plenty & delicate fedyng / in suche abundance that no obedyence nor pouertie appereth in them. And therfore many haue sayde, and yet say to this day / that religious men haue the most pleasant & delicate lyfe that any men haue. And truly if we behold the holynes & blessed examples of holy fathers, & of many religious persons, that haue bene in tyme past / and of many religious persons that be nowe in these dayes: we shulde se ryght great diuersitie betwene them, I trowe (as for many of them) as great diuersitie as is betwene heuen and helle. And here, as it semeth / I myghte conueniently reherse

the wordes that be spoken in the first boke of the folowyng of Christ / the . xviii . chapyter, where hit speaketh of the holy fathers / that haue bene in religion in tyme past / and sayeth thus. They serued our lorde / in hunger and in thurste / in hete / and in colde, in nakednes, in labour / and in werynes / in vigils and fastynges, in prayers, and in holye meditations, in persecutions, and in many reproffes. They refused honours here in this lyfe / that they might alway haue them in the euerlasting life. O how strait and howe abiecte a lyfe led the holy fathers in wyldernes? howe greuous temptations they suffred? howe fyersly they were with theyr goostly ennemyes assayled? howe feruent prayer they dayly offered to god? what rigorous abstinence they vsed? howe great zeles and feruour they had to spirituall profite? howe stronge bataylle agaynste all synne? And howe pure and holle entent they hadde to god in al theyr dedes? on the day they laboured / and on the night they prayed. And though they laboured on the daye bodily, yet they prayed in mynde / and so they spent theyr tyme alwaye frutefully / and thought euerye houre short: for the seruyce of god / and for the great swetenes that they hadde in heuenly contemplation, they forgette ofte tymes theyr bodily refection. All ryches / honour / dignities, kynnesmen, and frendes they renounced for the loue of god. They coueted to haue nothyng of the worlde / so that scarcely they wolde take that was necessarye for the bodyly kynde. They were poore in worldly goodes, but they were ryche in grace and vertues. They were nedy outwardely / but inwardely they were replenysshed with grace and goostly comfortes. To the worlde they were alyens and straungers, but to god they were ryghte deere and familiar frendes. In the syght of the lorde¹ and in theyr owne sighte they were vile and abiecte / but in the syght of god and of his saynctes they were precious and syn-gularly electe. In them shone all perfection of vertue /

¹ 'lorde': worlde [*mundo*] *ed.*

trewe mekenes / symple obedience / charitie / and
paciencie / with other like vertues and gracious giftes of
god. Wherefore they profyted dayly in spirite, and
opteyned great grace of god. They be lefte as an ex-
aumples to all relygious persons / and more oughte theyr
examples to stere them to deuocion, and to profite more
and more in vertue and grace than the great multitude
of dissolute and ydle persons shulde any thyng drawe
them abacke. O what feruoure was in religious persons
at the begynnynge of theyr religion? What deuocion in
prayers / what zeale to vertue / what loue to goostly dis-
cipline / and what reuerence and meke obedience
flourysshed in them vnder the rule of theyr superiour?
truely theyr dedes yet bere witnes, that they were holy
and perfite / that so myghtly subdued the worlde / and
thrust it vnder fote. Thus farre gothe the sayde chapiter.
But the more pitie is, most men say, that nowe a dayes
many religious men wyl rather folow theyr owne wyl,
than the wyll of theyr superiour / and that they wyll
neyther haue hunger nother thyrste, heate, nor colde,
nakednes, werines, nor labour: but riches, honour,
dignities / frendes, and worldely acqueyntance / atten-
daunce of seruauantes at theyr commaundementes,
pleasures, disportes, and that more liberally than tem-
porall men haue. Thus are they fallen (saye they) fro
the true religion: wherby the deuotion of the people is
in maner fallen fro them. Neuertheles I doute not, but
there be many ryght good and vertuous religious per-
sones, god forbede it shulde be other wyse: but hit is
sayde / that there be many yuell / and that in suche
multitude / that they, that be good, can not / or wyll not /
se them reformed. And one great cause that letteth re-
formation in this behalfe / is this: If the moste dis-
solute persone in all the comminaltie, and that lyueth
moste openly ageynste the rules of the religion, can vse
this policie, to extolle his religion aboue other, and dis-
preyse other religions, for that they be not of suche
perfection / as theyr religion is: anone he shall be called

a good feruent brother / and one that bereth vp the religion, and shalbe therfore the more lightly forborne in his offences. Where the trouthe is / that the religion maynteyneth hym and beareth vppe hym, and not he the religion. For hit hath lyttell nede of hym. And thoughe many be good / and lyue a ryghte good and laudable lyfe, after the statutes and order there vsed: yet in that poynt, to extolle theyr religyon aboue other / and to take parte with them, that doo so, though they knowe / that they that so extoll it / kepe not the religion them selfe, fewe be without offence / and truly that is a greatte defeaute, for hit gyueth a greatte boldenes to offenders / and discourageth them, that be good, whanne they se them that mooste lyue agaynste their religion / be so maynteyned and commended.

¶ An other thing that hath caused many people to mislike religion, hath bene the great extremitie, that hath ben many tymes sene at elections of abbottes / priours / and suche other souerayngnes spirituall. And this is a generall grounde, that whan religious men perceyue / that the people myslike them, they in theyr hartes withdrawe theyr fauour and deuocion agayne fro them: And so hathe charitie waxed colde betwene them. And verylye I suppose, that hit were better, that there shulde no abbotte or priour hereafter contynue ouer certayne yeres that shuld be appointed by auctorite of the rulers, than to haue such extremities at elections, as haue bene vsed in time past in many places.

¶ And veryly (as me semeth) one thing wolde do great good concernynge relygions / and all religious persones / and that is this: that the rules and constitutions of religion, were sene and wel considered / whether the rygour and straytnes of them may be borne nowe in these dayes, as they were at the beginnyng of the relygions. For the people be nowe more weyke / as to the multitude / than they were than. And if it be thoughte / that they maye not be nowe kepte: that than suche relaxacions and interpretations of theyr rules be made, as

shall be thought by the rulers expedient: For better it is to haue an easy rule wel kept, than a strayte rule broken without correction: For therof foloweth a boldnes to offende / a quyet hert in a euyll consyence: a custome in synne / with many euyll examples vnto the people: wherby many haue founde default at all religion, where they shulde rather haue founde default at dyuers abusions agaynste the true religion: For certayne it is / that religions were first made by holy fathers, by the instincte of the holy ghoste, kepe them who so may.

The conclusyon of this lyttell treatise.

The . xvi . Chapter.

Sythe there is no sacrifice, that more pleseth almyghty god than zeale of soules doth, it is good that euery man dispose hym selfe / as nygh as he can / to haue that zeale: And if he may through grace come ther-vnto it shall instructe hym in many thynges / howe he shall behaue hym selfe anenste his neyghbour. And fyrst it shall teache hym, that he shall take hede that he do nothyng, that myght gyue occasion vnto his neyghbour to offende. And I vnderstonde not therby / that he shall onely take hede, that he doo none euyll dede, wherby his neyghbour maye take occasion to offende, whiche in latyne is called *offendiculum* / that is to say, an occasyon to offende: but I meane also, that he shall take hede / that his neyghbour take none occasion to offende by no dede that he shall do / though hit be good, as gyuyng of almes, or buyldyng of churches / or such other: which if the people iuged to be done of pryde & vaine glory, muste be lefte for a tyme / for hurtyng of them that be of that opinion, tylle they may be instructed of the intente of the dede. And if they wyll in no wyse be reformed / than bycause hit semeth to be of malice, as was in the phariseis: their iudgement may be dyspyssed, & the good dede contynued.

¶ Also where trouth shulde perysshe, if the good dede shulde be omytted, there a good dede is not to be omytted. And accordynge to that is sayde before / the blessed apostell saynte Paule, of a great zeale that he hadde to the people sayde:

If eatynge of flesshe shulde hurte my neyghbour / I wolde neuer eate flesshe. And therfore in the sayd chapiter he monysshed all them, that wolde eate mete, that was offered to ydolles before them that were newly conuerted of the gentyles / and that were yet but weke in the faythe: that they shulde beware, that though they knewe, that they myghte laufully do as they dydde, that yet they shuld take hede / that theyr brother were not offended therby. And in all that chapiter the holy apostel treateth moch that it is good to euery man to beware, that through his dede he gyue no occasion to his brother to offende. And I beseche almyghty god / that euery manne / but moste specially our lordes and maysters spirituall / maye hereafter endeuer them selfe to kepe wel this poynt, that is to say, that they do nothyng to gyue the people occasion to offend: and ouer that / that they maye diligently instructe the vnlearned people to the knowlege of the trouthe, and to stable them as well by doctryne as by good example, all syngularite sette aparte. And for as moche as doctryne and good example perteyne moste specially to prelates and spirituall rulers / therfore I shall brefely recite certayne auctorities / that shall some what moue them to haue a zeale and loue vnto the people. And also to be pyteous vnto them: And for shortenes I shall omytte for this tyme to shewe by whome the sayd auctorities were spoken, besechyng the reders to take hede to the wordes that be spoken / thoughe hit appere not who speke them.

¶ Fyrst I fynde diuers auctorities that saye thus: It is expedient, that prelates study more to profyte the people, than to haue preeminence ouer the people.

¶ Also I fynde wrytten / that thoughe punishment

may not holly be omytted, that yet it profyteth moche / that hit be sometyme deferred.

¶ Also that it behoueth necessarily / that he that hathe rule ouer other, brenne euer in a quicke lyuely zele to the helth of theyr soules / that he hath rule of: And that els he shall lytell profyte vnto them. And therefore he coueteth vndiscretely to haue rule ouer them / that he studyeth not to profite vnto. And therefore this is sayde specially to prelates and to other that haue rule ouer the people: Rule ye, to foresee the perylles and daungers of them that ye haue rule of, to counsaylle them to procure their helth, and to serue and to profite to other, as good faythful and wyse seruantes, whome our lorde hath ordeyned ouer his householde. Plante ye vertue in them by holsomme doctryne / water it by good example, and helpe them with your prayour / and than haue ye done that pertaineth to you, and our lorde shall well gyue encrece of growynge, whan hit shall please hym / and that parauenture there as after mannes iugement was farre vnlyke. These thre thynges therefore be very necessary / doctryne, example, and prayour, but the greatest of them is prayour. It is also said to the prelates thus: Knowe ye, that ye oughte to be as mothers to the people / and not as lordes / and ye ought to studye, rather to be belouede than dred: and if it be necessary some tyme to haue correction, that it be a fatherly correction / and not as it were of a tyraunte / and show your selfe as mothers in norisshynge of the people, and as fathers in correctyng them. Be meke / put away all fiersnes / forbere betyng / & speke vnto the people faire & sobre wordes: and set not your yock to greuously vpon them / whose burdeins ye ought rather to bere. If ye be spiritual, instruct the people in the spirite of softnes, & let euery man considre hym selfe well / leest that he may be also tempted. He that is a mother dyssemuleth not, he can ioye with them that ioye / wepe with them that wepe / and he wyll not ceasse to thruste oute of the breste of compassion the milke of consolation. He

taketh hede / if he can perceyue any man, that is vexed with any gret temptacion or trouble, & that is heuy & weike therwith: And if he finde any such, with him he soroweth / him louingly he entreteath / hym he comforteth / & fyndeth anon many argumentes of pitye and truste / wherwith he reiseth hym vp agayne to comfort of spirite. And if he knowe any that is prompte, quicke, and well profitynge in grace, he ioyeth with hym / he gyueth hym many holsome counsayles, and kindeleth hym, and instructeth him all that he can to perceiver and profyte euer fro better to better, he conformeth hym selfe to euery man, he torneth the affections of all men vnto hym selfe in all goodnes, and proueth him selfe verily to be a mother, as well of them that be offenders / as of them that profite in grace: And as a true leche he seketh as well them that be sycke as them that be hole / & all this he doth through the gift of pitie / & of a zeale / that he hath to the helth of their soules. Also a good diligent shepeherd neuer cesseth to fede his flocke with good lessons & examples, & that with his owne example rather than with other mennes. For if he fede them with other mens examples, and not with his owne / hit is but a rebuke vnto hym / and his flocke shall not profyte moche therby. For if a prelate wyll shewe vnto the people the sobrenes of Moyses / the pacience of Iob, the mercy of Samuell, the holynes of Dauid, and suche other examples of blessed men: and he hym selfe be vnmeke, vnpacient, vnmercyfulle, and not holy, it is to fere, that all those examples shall lytell profite. And therfore prelates that in tyme passed haue bene the verye trewe shepeherdes / though they hadde their bodyes here of the erth, yet neuer the lesse they fed the flockes of our lorde to them commytted with heuenly fode, and vsed not to preache to them their owne wyll, but the wyll of god. And one man sayth of prelates this: Whan I (saythe he) beholde the heyght of the honour of prelacy, forthewith I drede the peryll and daunger of it. And whan I considre the degree, I drede the ruine. I

consydre the heyghte of the dignitie, and I beholde forthwith the mouthe of Helle open euen at hande. For there is no doubte / but that theyr administration is more peryllous / than is the ministration of any other. But yet neuer the lesse if they administre wel / they shal get them selfe therby an hygh degree in heuen, and they shall receyue the greater aboundance and more full measure of peace for theyr good trauayle for euer. And I beseche almyghtye god to sende these .iiii. thinges habundantly in to the worlde / and that mooste specially amonge prelates, and spirituall rulers, that is to saye, zeale of soules, pitie, good doctrine, and deuout prayour. And than vndoubtedly / a newe lyght of grace, and of tractabyltye, shall shortely shewe and shyne amonge the people.

Thus endeth this Treatyse
concernynge the diuision
betwene the spiri-
tualtie & the
tem-
poralte.

T H E T A B L E .

TABVLA.

Fyrste that the dyuysyon among spyrytuall men them selfe hath bene one cause of the dyuysion / that is nowe bytwene the spyrytualtye and temporalty in this realme.

The firste Chapter.

¶ That the omittyng of dyuers good lawes with certayne defautes and disorder in men of the church / which amonge other be recited and declared by Ihoñ' Gerson: haue bene an other occasion of this diuysion.

The seconde Chapter.

¶ That certayne lawes made by the churche / wherin it is recited, *quod laici sunt clericis infesti*, that is to saye / that laye men be cruell to clerkes: hath bene an other cause of this dyuysion.

The thyrd Chapter.

¶ That the extreme lawes made by the church for leyenge violent handes vpon clerkes / haue bene an other cause of this dyuysion.

The fourth Chapter.

¶ That the disorderynge of the generall sentence hath bene an nother occasion of the sayde diuision.

The fyfte Chapyter.

¶ That an other occasion of this diuysion hath partly rysen by temporal men, through disordrynge of theyr chapleyns and chauntrye preestes.

The syxte Chapter.

¶ That sute taken in the spiritual courtes (*ex officio*) haue ben an other occasyon of this diuision.

The seuenth Chapyter.

¶ That though after the determination of doctours, a man is not an heretyke / for that only that he erreth, but for that he opinatyfely defendeth his errour, and that neuer the lesse the spiritualtie / as a common voyce gothe amonge the people, haue in tyme paste punysshed many for heresie vpon lyght causes and offences / wher-vpon many people haue grudged / and that grudge hath ben an other occasion of this diuision.

The eyght Chapter.

¶ That the parcialite that hathe benne shewed vpon sutes taken in the spiritual court by spirituall men, hath bene an nother cause of this diuision.

The nynthe Chapter.

¶ That the extreme and couetous demeanour of som curates with theyr parysshens hath beue an other cause of this diuision.

The tenth Chapter.

¶ That the grauntynge of pardons for money, as it were to somme charitable vse, that hath not after folowed, hathe raised an other grudge amonge the people, whiche hath ben an other occasion of this diuision.

The leuenth Capiter.

¶ That the makynge of lawes by the churche whiche they had none auctorite to make, hath bene an other occasion of this diuision.

The twelthe Chapter.

¶ That lacke of good visitations hath ben an other occasion of this diuisyon.

The thyrtene Chapter.

¶ That the great multitude of lycences and dispensations made by spirituall rulers for money vppon lyghte suggestions hath ben an other cause of this diuision.

The fourtene Chapter.

¶ That the great laxnes and worldely pleasures of religious persons, wherby the people hath benne greatly offended, hath ben an other occasion of this diuysion.

The fyftene Chapter.

¶ Than for a conclusion of this treatise it is somewhat touched, howe good it is to haue a zeale of soules / and howe perillous it is to do any thyng, wherby they myght be hurted. And that if zeale of soules, pitie, good doctrine, & deuoute prayour, were abundauntly in this worlde, moost specially in prelates and spirituall rulers: that than a newe lyght of grace and tractabilite, wolde shortely shewe and shyne amonge the people.

The . xvi . Chapter.

*Londini in edibus Thome Bertheleti, prope aquagium sitis
sub intersignio Lucre
cie Romane
excus.*

CVM PRIVILEGIO.

NOTES



NOTES

A key to the editions cited will be found at the end of the Notes, immediately after the table of reference to the *Works*.

Biblical references, with a few exceptions, are to the Vulgate.

The spelling and punctuation of the selections from More, Frith, and Barnes have been modernized. Though the chief reason for this treatment has largely disappeared in the process of condensation, the selections have been allowed to stand in the modernized form, partly because they are obviously intended to serve an illustrative, rather than a textual, purpose, and partly because they are taken from the sixteenth-century editions of the collected works—editions in which the spelling and punctuation of the authors have already been abandoned. In general, the spelling adopted for any word is that under which the word is entered in the *N. E. D.* The old participial forms have been retained. Numbers represented in the original by roman numerals are sometimes written out in full. Italic has been used in an attempt to bring out more clearly the meaning of a few sentences. Contractions have regularly been expanded without italic; but if any doubtful reading occurs in a passage, all of the expansions in that passage are italicized.

p. 1, l. 6. *Isopes ape, . . . nor the crow*, etc. More alludes to the fable 'Jupiter [or Zeus] and the Monkey.' According to Heywood's *Proverbs* (pt. II, ch. IV, p. 61), '*The crow thinketh her own birds fairest in the wood.*' The whole passage recalls the following sentence from Robynson's translation of the *Utopia* (32): 'So both the Raven and the Ape thincke their owne yonge ones fairest.'

p. 1, l. 15. *yf other men*, etc. Similar statements occur at the beginning of the *Dialogue* and in the preface of the *Confutation* (*Works*, 106, 351).

p. 2, l. 12. **Barons.** The best account of Dr. Robert Barnes, prior of the Austin Friars at Cambridge, is given by Gairdner in the *D. N. B.* Of the twenty-five articles on which he was examined in 1526, Barnes himself gives an account (205-26). He consented to abjure, and bore his fagot. Two years later, according to Strype (I, ii, 55), he was implicated in the confession of a heretic and fled to Antwerp. In 1531 he appears to have returned to England 'at the King's great solicitation' (*L. & P.*, vol. v, No. 593); and by the following year he must have published his tract, *What the Church Is*, which More answered in the eighth book of his *Confutation*.

✓ Foxe asserts (v, 419) that when Barnes returned to England in 1531, Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, 'would fain have entrapped him'. This assertion should be read in the light of the following passage from More's *Confutation* (*Works*, 342-3): 'Then have we, now come forth, the book of Friar Barnes, sometime Doctor in Cambridge, which was for heresy before this time abjured, and is at this day comen to the realm by safe-conduct, which at his humble suit the King's Highness of his blessed disposition condescended to grant him, to the end that if there might yet any spark of grace be founden in him, it might be kept kindled and increased, rather than the man to be cast away. . . . If God give him the grace to amend, every good man will be glad thereof. . . . But as for hence, he shall, I am sure, have leave to depart safe, according to the King's safe-conduct. And yet hath he so demeaned himself since his coming hither that he hath clearly broken and forfeited his safe-conduct, and lawfully might be burned for his heresies, if we would lay his heresies and his demeanour sith his coming hither, both twain, unto his charge. But let him go this once, for God shall find his time full well.'

p. 2, l. 33. **Horace sayth of Homere.** In the *De Arte Poetica*, 358-9.

p. 3, l. 7. **that they be to longe all redy.** This charge of tediousness has been considered in the Introduction and will be further touched upon in the note on p. 7, l. 27.

p. 3, l. 33. **that I handle Tyndale and Barons . . . with no fayrer wordes.** Specimens of the severity of More's treatment of Tyndale and Barnes may be found in the text of the *Apology* (p. 45, ll. 23-26; p. 195, ll. 7-14—quoted from the *Dialogue* and the *Confutation* respectively). When More wishes to brand a statement as false, he does not resort to polite insinuation. 'All this gear', he exclaims (*Works*, 397), 'is but a fardel full of lies'. And on the next page he finds 'another fardel full of lies'. In any consideration of More's severity two important factors should be carefully remembered: the audience for whose sake More wrote, and the character of the heretical writings the influence of which he was combating. He himself remarks that, if he should attempt to do so, he would never be able to rival the heretics in railing. Compare, for example, the notes on p. 47, l. 22; p. 49, l. 35; p. 52, l. 6.

The question involved in his tirades against Luther More frankly discusses in the fourth book of the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 247), where, after a sharp attack on the 'arch-heretic', he proceeds to defend his words as follows: 'But now on the other side, if it so be, as indeed it is, that Christ's Church hath the true doctrine already, and the selfsame that Saint Paul would not give an angel of heaven audience to the contrary, what wisdom were it now therein to show ourself so mistrustful and wavering that . . . we should give hearing, not to an angel of heaven, but to a fond friar, to an apostate, to an open, incestuous lecher, a plain limb of the devil, and a manifest messenger of hell? In which words, if ye would haply think that I use myself too sore, to call him by such odious names, ye must consider that he spareth not both untruly and without necessity in his railing books to call by as evil, them whom his duty were highly to reverence; whereas I do between us twain call him but as himself hath showed him in his writing, in his living, and in his mad marriage. And yet I neither do it, nor would, were it not that the matter self of reason doth require it. For my part is it of necessity to tell how naught he is; because that the worse the man is, the more madness were it for wise men to give his false fables hearkening against God's undoubted truth, by His Holy Spirit taught unto His Church, and by such multitude of miracles, by so much blood of holy martyrs, by the virtuous living of so many blessed confessors, by the purity and cleanness of so many chaste widows and undefiled virgins, by the wholesome doctrine of so many holy doctors, and finally by the whole consent and agreement of all Christian people this fifteen hundred year confirmed.'

p. 4, l. 6. *by hym who so euer he was, that now lately wrote*, etc. The attribution of this treatise to Christopher Saint-German (1460?-1540) rests ultimately upon the authority of Bale. His entry in the *Catalogus* (660-1) is as follows:

'Christophorus Seyniarmayn, alijs de sancto Germano, illustri pro-sapia oriundus, socius olim interioris templi in suburbij Londinensibus, eo eruditionis illic peruenit, ut ab eius urbis ciuibz, immortalem sit assecutus famam. Homo erat, omnium consensu, in patrijs legibus & in iure tam canonico quam civili excellenter instructus, in omnique philosophia, atque scientijs alijs liberalibus, doctissimus euasit. Quam fecundum, amplum ac magnificum habuerit ingenium, & quam grauem in rebus agendis prudentiam, tota nimirum Anglia nouit. Caelebs per omnem uitam ille cum omni honestate uixit, cunctis se beneficium ualde praeiuit, in foro consilia & auxilia petentibus exhibuit gratis. Singulis fere noctibus, quum nihil esset agendum foras, unum ex sacris Bibliorum libris caput legit & exposuit: totaque eius substantia, cum moreretur, in libris fuit. Tam electum Dei organum, ac tam sanctum pietatis ante iurisperorum oculos in omni seculo ponendum exemplar, non licet, multorum certe opinione, sine quadam reuerentia nominare. Scripsit hic Germanus Christigerulus inter caetera, partim Latine, partim Anglice,

<i>Dialogum de legibus Anglicanis,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Dialogum de fundatione earundem,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Apologiam ad epistolam quandam,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>De statutis prouincialibus,</i>	Lib. 1.	[propositum.
<i>De cleri potestate ex iure,</i>	Lib. 1.	Quamuis huius libri
<i>Salem et Byzantium,</i>	Lib. 1.	Liber est, quem nuper
<i>Doctrinam Bernardi et Brigidæ,</i>	Lib. 1.	[edidit.
<i>Concilia Romanorum pontificum,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>In Mahumetem et eius sectam,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Discrimen uulgi et cleri,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Additionem Salis et Byzantij,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Quod clerus non conderet leges,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Quid ecclesia sit,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>De Sacramentis eisdem,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Apologiam aduersus Morum,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>De utraque potestate dialogum,</i>	Lib. 1.	
<i>Atque alia nonnulla.</i>		

'Octoginta annos superabat, quum Londini mortem obiret, anno a diuini uerbi incarnatione 1539, die 28 Septembris: & in D. Elphegi templo ad Crepulgate dicto, est non procul a Lupseto sepultus, sub Henr. 8.'

The entry in Bale's notebook is substantially the same (*Index*, 53-5), his bibliographical source there being indicated as '*Ex collectis Edwardi Braynewoode*.'

Anthony Wood (i, 54) adds a few items of interest about Saint-German's family and education, notes that his company was 'desired by Scholars and Clergy', and, after repeating Bale's statement about the nightly reading and expounding of a chapter from the Bible, appends the following comment: 'By the doing of which, and his interposing himself in matters relating to Religion and the Clergy, some have thought that he halted in his Opinion, that is, that he was inclined to the way of heretics.' This last remark accords with More's words (pp. 96-7 above), and recalls the more definite complaint contained in the demands of the rebels at the time of the insurrection in the North in 1536 (*L. & P.*, xi, No. 1246).

The attribution of the 'Book of Division' to Saint-German has, so far as I know, never been questioned. Indeed, if one compares the treatise with the well-known *Doctor and Student* with respect to questions discussed, authorities quoted, general attitude, and mannerisms, the internal evidence of the authorship is amply convincing.

p. 4, l. 12. that I do but pyke oute pyeces, etc. See note on p. 5, l. 35.

p. 4, l. 19. **they find hym . . . fully answered.** More refers to the eighth book of his *Confutation*, in which he attacks Barnes's tract, *What the Church Is, and Who Be Thereof, and Whereby Men May Know Her*.

p. 4, l. 20. **in respect of Tindale . . . secunde sorte.** More's own verdict is quoted in the Introduction (p. xxxi).

p. 4, l. 22. **leueth out . . . mockes . . . agaynste the masse.** Barnes was a Lutheran. When Frith was about to be examined on charges of heresy, Tyndale wrote to him (vol. 1, p. liii): 'Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you.'

p. 4, l. 27. **I promysed . . . I wold proue the chyrche/etc.** More's reply may be found in the final chapter of the *Apology*.

p. 5, l. 2. **I vse the contrarye maner therin that Tyndale vseth, etc.** Compare More's charge in the *Confutation* (*Works*, 605): 'Howbeit, if Tyndale had here rehearsed you my very words of my *Dialogue*, as I am in such cases wont to rehearse his, it would—and that he saw well—have made his quick, merry scoff wax very dull and more than half dead, as ye shall well perceive, I trust, when I come to that place'. For illustration of the treatment of which More is complaining see Tyndale's chapter quoted in the *Apology* (19-20) and More's comment (p. 23, ll. 1-26).

p. 5, l. 20. **I rather enforce yt . . . of myne own.** More's *Dialogue* affords the best examples of such treatment.

p. 5, l. 26. **such darkenes vse they purposely, & Tyndale in especyall.** For illustration of More's meaning see his criticism of one of these dark passages (p. 30, l. 25), and the note on p. 7, l. 22. In the *Confutation* (*Works*, 747) More makes the same charge against Barnes: 'But forasmuch as he laboureth . . . to make such confusion in the matter that men should not, by his will, well perceive the point, I shall therefore soil you those allegations in such convenient place as may give the matter most light.' In one place, indeed (*Works*, 750), Barnes is accused of walking 'much more in the dark than Tyndale doth, though Tyndale keep himself in the dark more than meetly well.'

p. 5, l. 35. **I have not wyttyngly left oute one lyne/& very few I am sure of ouersyght.** No other controversialist of the period, I believe, approaches More either in accuracy or in extensiveness of quotation from the works of opponents. The Rev. Henry Walter, the editor of Tyndale's *Works*, who will not be accused of prejudice in More's favour, writes (iii, 3): 'It is however to the credit of More's fairness, as a controversialist, that the extracts from Tyndale incorporated into his *Confutacyon* are so many, and so accurate, as to have been of material use to the present editor in his endeavour to form a correct text'.

Yet it is to two erroneous foot-notes by this editor, I fear, that one must trace the notion that More in the *Confutation* silently passed over seventy or eighty pages of Tyndale's *Answer*. The first of these foot-notes is as follows: 'By this time More must have perceived that if he continued his criticisms on the same scale, his *Confutation* must become an immense volume: so he passes on abruptly to Tyndale's remarks on chap. xxv. of B. I. of the *Dialogue*, without taking any notice of the seventy intermediate pages.' The second note, sixty-six pages later, states that at that point 'More resumes his task of confuting Tyndale.' Now it is quite true that at the first of these points More temporarily abandons his consecutive presentation of Tyndale's text, and, leaping over to the latter part of Tyndale's first book, quotes and attacks almost a score of passages that have some direct bearing upon the fundamental question under discussion. Then, after ending the third book with an uninterrupted argument of eighteen pages, he begins the fourth by resuming the consecutive quotation at the point where he had abandoned it, and continues this method throughout the four books that follow. Three-fourths of Tyndale's paragraphs are quoted; of the rest some are partly quoted and partly summarized, and others entirely summarized. One and a part of another are deliberately omitted as mere 'railing'. Tyndale's editor—or any one else—may easily be excused for losing his trail in the *Confutation*. But unfortunately, losing the trail meant losing the assistance of more than half of More's quotations in establishing Tyndale's true text.

Curious evidence of the scrupulousness that More showed in representing the views of an opponent may be found in 'The fautes escaped in the pretynge of the second parte of the confutacyon', which immediately follow the errata at the end of the *Apology*. Citing his own words about one of Tyndale's teachings, he continues: 'I have considered, good readers, of late a place in a book of Tyndale wherein he somewhat retreateth and goeth back, and modifieth parts of his old positions against satisfaction.' After summarizing this modified position, More continues: 'Which words of Tyndale, if I had marked, I would have touched in the said place. And sith I have seen them since, I give you knowledge thereof, because I would not willingly in anything misrehearse him.'

A still more striking instance of this scrupulous care may be found in the note that appears in some copies of the edition of 1557 between pp. 1138 and 1139. The error that More corrects here is in the word 'cometh', which should have been 'is come'. The passage in question had been quoted correctly once, and the change was of no real importance; indeed, its only effect was slightly to blunt the point of a passage in the *Debellation* in which More had aimed a bit of well-deserved ridicule at the awkwardness of Saint-German's *Salem and Bizance* (note on p. 80, l. 28). The words in which More concludes this note

fairly represent his controversial attitude in such matters: 'And therefore, albeit that I have knowen many that have read it, of which I never found any that found it, yet sith it happed me lately to look thereon and find mine oversight myself, I would in no wise leave it, good reader, unreformed; nor never purpose while I live, wheresoever I may perceive either mine adversary to say well or myself to have said otherwise, to let for us both indifferently to declare and say the truth.'

p. 6, l. 2. such englysh wordes as he hath chaunged in his translacion. See note on p. 11, l. 2.

p. 6, l. 9. where I so do, I geue the reader warnynge. One of these naïve warnings may be found in the preface of the *Confutation* (*Works*, 353): 'Now let I pass much railing that he consequently maketh upon princes, and shall for this time only counsel you to consider these few words of his, which he layeth for a rule of people's obedience to their prince.'

p. 6, l. 23. these good blessed bretherne. In his *Debellation* (*Works*, 939) More answers the Pacifier's criticism of such epithets: 'But then in that part he much misliketh in me both that I call them any evil name, as the "naughty brethren", or "heretic brethren", and also that I call them good names too, as the "blessed brethren" and "evangelical brethren". And for the first, in calling them any evil names, he saith I do not as I would be done to, as appeareth, he saith, in mine *Apology*. Surely, I suppose, he may therein find that I force not what such as they be call me. And I can write no worse word by them, I wot well, than they write many by me.

'And too, as for to give evil names to such folk as are so evil in deed, let him call it railing, at his pleasure; but howsoever it be in me, I wot well that some other have done so that yet were no railers, except Saint Paul were a railer when he called his carlish keepers dogs, and when he called the chief priest a whited wall (which was a spiteful word among them), and except Saint Polycarpus railed when he called the heretic Marcion the devil's eldest son, and except our Saviour railed when he called the scribes and the Pharisees hypocrites.

'But then that I call them again good names, this thing, lo, this good man reckoneth a very monstrous manner—to make them both good and bad. But this is a monster, lo, of every man's making. For so call I not them alone, but the whole people too, in such manner of speaking as every man useth when he calleth one self naughty lad both a shrewd boy and a good son, the one in the proper, simple speech, the other by the figure of irony or antiphrasis. And by a like manner figure Saint Jerome against the old heretic Vigilantius, calleth him sometime Vigilantius, and sometime again "Dormitantius"; and so he calleth that heretic two contrary names as well as I do these.'

p. 7, l. 22. **and rude ridyls, to the makyng open**, etc. This misplaced comma should follow the word that it precedes, which is not the preposition *to* but the adverb *too*. The sentence may then be summarized as follows: Since Tyndale furnishes his errors with pretence of reason and scripture, and sometimes with subtleties and riddles too, the explanation and elucidation of his intentional obscurities has cost me much labour. Thus punctuated, the sentence harmonizes perfectly with More's previous statement (p. 5, l. 26) and with the first of the quotations given in the note on that passage.

p. 7, l. 24. **putte me to more labour and lengthe in answeyng**. Compare the following passage from the preface to the *Confutation* (*Works*, 355): 'I think that no man doubteth but that this work both hath been and will be some pain and labour to me, and of truth so I find it. But, as help me God! I find all my labour in the writing not half so grievous and painful to me as the tedious reading of their blasphemous heresies; that would God after all my labour done, so that the remembrance of their pestilent errors were arased out of Englishmen's hearts, and their abominable books burned up, mine own were walked with them, and the name of these matters utterly put in oblivion.'

p. 7, l. 27. **I somtyme take the payne to reherse some one thyng in dyuerse fasshyons in mo places than one**. This precaution, which More takes partly against the reader's possible indolence, partly against his probable lack of books, obviously contributed to the occasional tediousness of More's controversial writing. A rough analysis of a portion of one of the arid stretches in the *Apology* (pp. 15-30), which will show how far More could carry this method, may be indicated thus: ABCD-EFGHI*ƒ**aj*BC*Dj*E*je*, where the Roman capitals represent whole paragraphs from More's opponents; the italic capitals, longer passages of More's refutation; and the small letters (italic if the passage contains more than one paragraph), summaries, short quotations, restatements, etc. Now when it is noted that ABCDE represent paragraphs—themselves full of repetition—from a particularly tedious sermon preached in defence of GHI (a passage from Tyndale), and that More's arguments in *F* and *ƒ* are similar, it is not difficult to believe that the very completeness of the method may have defeated his aim. Even at the point where I have broken off the analysis More is far from the end of his argument.

p. 8, l. 15. **these euangelicall brethern**. Compare More's comment in the *Debellation* (*Works*, 939): 'And where he cannot bear it that they, being such, should be called by the name of evangelicals, I well allow the good mind of the good man that he therein showeth himself so to bear to the faith that it grieveth him to hear heretics called by such a good gracious name. But he must consider that it is now, and some years

already passed hath been, the name by which they have been as commonly called in all the countries Catholic as by their own very name of heretic. And the occasion thereof grew first of that that themself took the name evangelical arrogantly to themself both by the evangelical liberty that they pretended (as folk that would live under the gospel, and under no man's law beside), and because they would also believe nothing further than the very scripture, all which they take now under the name of the gospel. For the new law they take for nothing else but for the declaration and perfection of the old.

'Now when they had taken this name commonly upon themself, the Catholics, telling them that they neither lived nor believed according to the gospel, letted not yet to call them by the same name too—and that not to their praise, but to their rebuke and shame.'

p. 8, l. 20. **the masse . . . to longe**, etc. Cf. Tyndale's *Obedience* (i, 226).

p. 8, l. 23. **a shorte prymer**. In the *Confutation* (*Works*, 343) More has the following criticism of this Primer: 'For the Primer and Psalter—prayers and all—were translated and made in this manner by none other but heretics. The Psalter was translated by George Jay, the priest, that is wedded now—and I hear say the Primer too. Wherein the Seven Psalms be set in without the Litany, lest folk should pray to saints. And the *Dirige* is left out clean, lest a man might hap to pray thereon for his father's soul. In their calendar before their devout prayers they have set us a new saint, Sir Thomas Hitton, the heretic that was burned in Kent, of whom I shall tell you more after.'

p. 9, l. 8. **waxe wery to rede ouer a long boke**. From the paragraph that follows in the text it is apparent that More refers to his *Confutation*, the second part of which is in itself almost four times as long as the *Apology*.

p. 10, l. 16. **they lacke no wyly dryftes**. These 'wily drifts' are illustrated by More in an extended *reductio ad absurdum* in the forty-eighth chapter of the *Apology* (186-88).

p. 10, l. 22. **now all moste in euery lewde laddys mouth**. In suggesting such a wide prevalence of heresy, More has in mind, I suppose, the city of London. (As early as 1515, Bishop Fitzjames, anxious to secure a fair trial for his chancellor, Dr. Horsey, had written to Wolsey (Foxe, iv, 196): ' . . . assured am I, if my chancellor be tried by any twelve men in London, they be so maliciously set, "in favorem hæreticæ pravitatis," that they will cast and condemn any clerk, though he were as innocent as Abel.') Miss E. Jeffries Davis (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxx, 477) notes that the original tract reads 'my clarcke', and that the mistake has remained current ever since Hall, or his printer, first made it. A. F. Pollard (*Wolsey*, 38 n.) argues that 'Fitzjames probably wrote "any"'.)

p. 10, l. 34. Tyndales false translation of the new testament. See notes on p. 11, l. 2; p. 13, l. 30.

p. 10, l. 35. as hym selfe confessesthe. More makes the same statement in the second book of the *Confutation* (406): 'But yet to the intent ye may the better perceive how wisely the man defendeth the matter, in such wise as he showeth both lack of learning, and more lack of wit, and most lack of grace, he doth at the last confess himself that he made the changes for the setting forth of his heresies, which was the point that I laid to his charge as the very thing for which his translation was very well worthy to be burned.'

To More's earlier assertion in the *Dialogue* (note on p. 13, l. 30) that Tyndale had changed the commonly accepted English words for the purpose of establishing Luther's heresies, Tyndale in his *Answer* (iii, 13) replied as follows: 'Wherefore, inasmuch as the clergy (as the nature of those hard and indurate adamant stones is, to draw all to them) had appropriate unto themselves the term that of right is common unto all the whole congregation of them that believe in Christ; and with their false and subtle wiles had beguiled and mocked the people, and brought them into the ignorance of the word; making them understand by this word *church* nothing but the shaven flock of them that shored the whole world; therefore in the translation of the new Testament, where I found this word *ecclesia*, I interpreted it by this word *congregation*. Even therefore did I it, and not of any mischievous mind or purpose to stablish heresy, as Master More untruly reporteth of me in his dialogue, where he railleth on the translation of the new Testament.'

Within ten pages of this denial Tyndale, in defending his rejection of the words *priest* and *penance* (*ibid.*, 19-20, 22-23), made further statements that seemed to More to justify his charge. See also Gairdner's verdict (*Lollardy*, ii, 228, 242-44).

p. 11, l. 2. those wordes chaunged. The objectionable words are condemned by More in the third book of his *Dialogue*, from which the following brief selections are taken (*Works*, 220-22):

'The one is . . . this word *priests*; the other, the *Church*; the third, *charity*. For priests—wheresoever he speaketh of the priests of Christ's Church—he never calleth them priests, but alway seniors. The Church he calleth alway the congregation; and charity he calleth love. Now do these names in our English tongue neither express the things that be meant by them, and also there appeareth, the circumstances well considered, that he had a mischievous mind in the change. . . . Nor these have I not rehearsed you as for the chief, but for that they came first to mind. For else I might shortly rehearse you many things mo as far out of tune as these be. For he changeth commonly the name of grace into this word *favour*, whereas every favour is not grace in English; for in some favour is there little grace. *Confession* he translateth into *know-*

ledging; penance into repentance. A contrite heart he changeth into a *troubled heart*; and many mo things like, and many texts untruly translated for the maintenance of heresy, as I shall show you some when we look into the book.'

Adequate illustration of the arguments about these words cannot be given here. The entire second book of the *Confutation*—a book in itself more than half as long as the *Apology*—is devoted to More's final review of the questions involved. Here, after introducing the *reductio ad absurdum* of the football, which is quoted in the Introduction, More continues: 'But surely the word *congregation* with the circumstances in the text would not have served, when he translated it first, to make the English reader to take it for the Church, no more than *idols* for *images*, or *images* for *idols*, . . . or *repenting* for *doing penance*.' (*Works*, 416.)

With regard to this last change and in view of the question raised in the preceding note a few sentences may be added from More's remarks upon Tyndale's rejection of the word *penance* (*Works*, 438): 'Now as for the word *penance*, whatsoever the Greek word be, it ever was and yet is lawful enough (so that Tyndale give us leave!) to call anything in English by what word soever Englishmen by common custom agree upon. And therefore to make a change of the English word, as though that all England should go to school with Tyndale to learn English, is a very frantic folly. But now the matter standeth not therein at all. For Tyndale is not angry with the word, but because of the matter. For this grieveth Luther and him, that by penance we understand, when we speak thereof, so many good things therein, and not a bare repenting or forthinking only, but also every part of the sacrament of penance: confession of mouth, contrition of heart, and satisfaction by good deeds.'

p. II, l. 6. This translation therefore beynge by the clergy condemned. The condemnation to which More refers was expressed by Bishop Tunstall in his Prohibition, October 26th, 1526, the text of which may be found in Foxe (iv, 666-67) and A. W. Pollard (131-35); and by Archbishop Warham in his *Mandatum* of the same year, the text of which is given by Wilkins (iii, 706).¹

p. II, l. 7. at Poules crosse openly burned. Anderson (i, 113) gives the date of this earliest burning as February 11th, 1526; and Walter (vol. i, p. xxxi) follows him. Demaus (148-50) and Gairdner (*Lollardy*, ii, 235) place it in the autumn of that year. Whatever the precise date may have been, this public burning was the occasion of a sermon by Bishop Tunstall, in which he condemned the translation as full of errors and dangerous heresies. Neither the sermon nor the burning, which dramatically followed it, seems to have accomplished the end desired. In his *Dialogue* More hints of growing rumours to the effect that the translation had been burned to prevent the people from finding out that it was actually free from the gross faults that had been

alleged. In his *Confutation* (*Works*, 405), after enumerating a list of heretical books recently imported, More concludes: 'In all these evermore one piece of their complaint hath been the burning of Tyndale's Testament.' An illustration of the bitterness of this complaint may be found in Roy's satire 'Rede me and be nott wrothe' (46).

p. 11, l. 11. **'The fautes be so many in Tyndals translacyon.** Fulke (61) quotes Martin to the effect that Bishop Tunstall 'openly protested that he had found in the New Testament only no less than two thousand.' Roy's satire declares (46) that the number of errors announced was 'Above thre thousande'. More states that 'there were founden and noted wrong and falsely translated above a thousand texts by tale' (*Works*, 220).

p. 13, l. 8. **farre more then four partes**, etc. Compare Gairdner's verdict (*Introduction to the Paston Letters*, ccclxii-ccclxiii).

p. 13, l. 19. **for myne owne parte, I . . . am . . . of the same opynyon styll.** The opinion to which More refers was expressed as follows in the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 243-4): 'Nor I never yet heard any reason laid why it were not convenient to have the Bible translated into the English tongue; but all those reasons, seemed they never so gay and glorious at the first sight, yet when they were well examined, they might in effect, for aught that I can see, as well be laid against the holy writers that wrote the scripture in the Hebrew tongue, and against the blessed evangelists that wrote the scripture in Greek, and against all those in like wise that translated it out of every of those tongues into Latin, as to their charge that would well and faithfully translate it out of Latin into our English tongue. For as for that our tongue is called barbarous, is but a fantasy. For so is, as every learned man knoweth, every strange language to other. And if they would call it barren of words, there is no doubt but it is plenteous enough to express our minds in anything whereof one man hath used to speak with another. Now as touching the difficulty which a translator findeth in expressing well and lively the sentence of his author, which is hard alway to do so surely but that he shall sometime minish either of the sentence or of the grace that it beareth in the former tongue, that point hath lain in their light that have translated the scripture already either out by Greek into Latin, or out of Hebrew into any of them both, as, by many translations which we read already, to them that be learned appeareth. Now as touching the harm that may grow by such blind Bayards as will, when they read the Bible in English, be more busy than will become them—they that touch that point harp upon the right string and touch truly the great harm that were likely to grow to some folk, howbeit not by the occasion yet of the English translation, but by the occasion of their own lewdness and folly, which yet were not in my mind a sufficient cause to exclude the translation, and to put other folk from the benefit thereof, but rather to make provision against such abuse, and let a good thing go forth.'

This provision, which More proceeds to outline by way of offering a compromise to those who do not agree with him, is as follows (*Works*, 246): 'And also though Holy Scripture be, as ye said whilere, a medicine for him that is sick, and food for him that is whole; yet sith there is many a body sore soul-sick that taketh himself for whole, and in Holy Scripture is an whole feast of so much divers viand that after the affection and state of sundry stomachs one may take harm by the selfsame that shall do another good, and sick folk often have such a corrupt tallage in their taste that they most like the meat that is most unwholesome for them; it were not therefore, as methinketh, unreasonable that the ordinary, whom God hath in the diocese appointed for the chief physician to discern between the whole and the sick, and between disease and disease, should after his wisdom and discretion appoint every body their part, as he should perceive to be good and wholesome for them. And therefore, as he should not fail to find many a man to whom he might commit all the whole, so to say the truth I can see none harm therein though he should commit unto some man the Gospel of Matthew, Mark, or Luke, whom he should yet forbid the Gospel of St. John; and suffer some to read the Acts of the Apostles whom he would not suffer to meddle with the Apocalypse. Many were there, I think, that should take much profit by Saint Paul's Epistle *ad Ephesios*, wherein he giveth good counsel to every kind of people, and yet should find little fruit for their understanding in his Epistle *ad Romanos*, containing such high difficulties as very few learned men can very well attain. And in like wise would it be in divers other parts of the Bible, as well in the Old Testament as the New; so that, as I say, though the bishop might unto some lay man betake and commit with good advice and instruction the whole Bible to read, yet might be to some man well and with reason restrain the reading of some part, and from some busybody the meddling with any part at all, more than he shall hear in sermons set out and declared unto him, and in like wise to take the Bible away from such folk again as be proved by their blind presumption to abuse the occasion of their profit unto their own hurt and harm. And thus may the bishop order the scripture in our hands with as good reason as the father doth by his discretion appoint which of his children may for his sadness keep a knife to cut his meat, and which shall for his wantonness have his knife taken from him for cutting of his fingers. And thus am I bold without prejudice of other men's judgment to show you my mind in this matter, how the scripture might without great peril and not without great profit, be brought into our tongue, and taken to lay men and women both, not yet meaning thereby but that the whole Bible might for my mind be suffered to be spread abroad in English. But if that were so much doubted that percase all might thereby be letted; then would I rather have used such moderation as I speak of, or some such other as wiser men can better devise. Howbeit, upon that I read late in the epistle that the

King's Highness translated into English of his own, which his grace made in Latin, answering to the letter of Luther; my mind giveth me that His Majesty is of his blessed zeal so minded to move this matter unto the prelates of the clergy, among whom I have perceived some of the greatest and of the best of their own minds well inclinable thereto already, that we lay people shall in this matter ere long time pass (except the fault be found in ourself) be well and fully satisfied and content.'

p. 13, l. 21. **yf the men were amended and the tyme mete therefore.** Compare the following clause from the King's Proclamation of June, 1530, as quoted by A. W. Pollard (167-8): 'And that hauing respecte to the malignite of this present tyme, with the inclination of people to erronious opinions, the translation of the newe testament and the olde in to the vulgare tonge of englysshe, shulde rather be the occasion of contynuanee of increace of errorrs amonge the sayd people, than any benefyte or commodite towarde the weale of their soules.'

p. 13, l. 30. **translatynge the truth of Cryste into false Luthers heresy.** Compare the following passage from the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 220): 'It is, quoth I, to me great marvel that any good Christian man having any drop of wit in his head, would anything marvel or complain of the burning of that book if he know the matter. Which whoso calleth the New Testament calleth it by a wrong name, except they will call it Tyndale's Testament or Luther's Testament. For so had Tyndale, after Luther's counsel, corrupted and changed it from the good and wholesome doctrine of Christ to the devilish heresies of their own, that it was cleane a contrary thing. . . . For now it is to be considered that at the time of this translation Hitchens [i.e., Tyndale] was with Luther in Wittenberg, and set certain glosses in the margent, framed for the setting forth of the ungracious sect. . . . But . . . the confederacy between Luther and him is a thing well knowen, and plainly confessed by such as have been taken and convicted here of heresy, coming from thence'.

In the passage that follows More argues that the objectionable words in Tyndale's translation may best be explained as reflecting certain of Luther's teachings.

More's accusation did not pass unchallenged. In his *Answer* (iii, 147) Tyndale made the following denial: 'And when he saith "Tyndale was confederate with Luther," that is not truth.' More, therefore, in his *Confutation* does not use the word 'confederate', but asserts (*Works*, 419) merely that Tyndale *was with* Luther at the time when he was translating the New Testament. Anderson (i, 46-47) argued that Tyndale never met Luther until after the publication of the translation. Walter, in his edition of Tyndale's *Works* (I, xxv-xxvi, xxx), is also disposed to discredit More's assertion. On the other hand, the truth of the assertion is confirmed by Foxe (v, 119), and appears to be reasonably substantiated by contemporary evidence and modern scholarship. For

contemporary evidence see A. W. Pollard (108-10, 117-18, 122-25) and Tyndale's Works (I, xxviii). Demaus (93-97) not only confirms More's assertion, but also, though he exonerates Tyndale from the charge of being a 'servile imitator' or 'mere feeble copyist', states (129) that 'Tyndale's New Testament is Luther's in miniature'. For a more extended discussion see his *Tyndale*, 128, ff.; and cf. Gasquet, *Eve of the Reformation*, 252-8; and Jacobs, 17-38.

p. 14, l. 14. *thys newe broched brotherhed*. Compare More's comment in the *Debellation* (*Works*, 939): 'And where he cannot tell what I mean by the new-broached brotherhood, that am I content to tell him; I mean that they be a barrel of poison that the devil hath late set abroad, and laboureth by them to poison other men.'

p. 14, l. 32. *velut . . . meridianum*. Adapted from *Psal.* xc, 5-6.

p. 15, l. 2. *certayne lynys left out*, etc. For the omission see the note on p. 20, l. 15. The whole passage is given on p. 20.

p. 15, l. 23. *Voluntarie*, etc. *Jac.* i, 18.

p. 17, l. 14. *Dabo leges*, etc. See *Hebr.* viii, 10.

p. 18, l. 12. *Luther fyrste and Tyndale . . . tell vs*, etc. For one of Luther's statements upon this question see *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesie*, fo. K. Tyndale writes (iii, 99-100): 'Therefore were all things necessary to salvation comprehended in scripture ever to endure. By which scripture the councils general . . . have concluded such things as were in them determined. . . . And by the same scripture shall we, if any new question arise, determine it also.'

p. 18, l. 17. *the kynges hyghnes in his most famous boke*. The authorship of the *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* has been variously attributed and distributed among Henry VIII, Wolsey, Fisher, Lee, Pace, Erasmus and More. For discussions of the question see Bridgett's *Defender of the Faith*; Bruce's Note, *Archæol.*, xxiii, 67-76; and the summary in O'Donovan's edition of the *Assertio* (53-93). Roper tells us (246-8) that More, when accused under examination of having traitorously induced the King to devote a portion of the *Assertio* to the 'maynteynance of the Popes Auctoritee,' replied: ' . . . I was never procurer nor counsellor of his majestie therunto; but after it was finished, by his graces appoyntment and consent of the makers of the same, I was only a sorter out and placer of the principall matters therein conteyned.' In one of his letters to Cromwell (*Works*, 1426; *Last Letters*, 31) we have similar, though less explicit, testimony in More's own words.

From More's use of the word 'makers' it would appear that the *Assertio* was not produced without collaboration. Upon its completion

it was apparently submitted to More for criticism; and to him was finally assigned the task of 'sorting' and 'placing' the 'principall matters therin conteyned', i.e., as Bruce and Bridgett suppose, of arranging an index.

In his English works More refers again and again to the *Assertio*, always in complimentary terms and not infrequently as the source of his argument (e.g., in the final paragraph quoted in the note on p. 22, l. 13). In the *Responsio ad Lutherum* also More introduces quotations from the *Assertio*, one of which (*Om. Op.*, 47, from *Assertio*, 401, 403) is the passage to which he refers in the present sentence. In the following note and on p. 22 the argument recurs.

p. 18, l. 23. **the perpetuall virgynyte of our lady.** More refers to the following passage from the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 161): 'Many things are there like, which as holy doctors agree, were taught the apostles by Christ, and the Church by the apostles, and so comen down to our days by continual succession from theirs. But I will let all other pass over, and speak but of one.

'Every good Christian man, I doubt not, believeth that Our Blessed Lady was a perpetual virgin, as well after the birth of Christ as before. For it were a strange thing that she should after the blessed birth be less minded to cleanness and purity, and set less by her holy purpose and promise of chastity, vowed and dedicate unto God, than she did before.'

In a passage too long for quotation here, More advances, in support of the above dogma, arguments based partly upon Saint Luke's account of the annunciation, and partly upon reason and probability. He then concludes: 'This reverent article of Our Lady's perpetual virginity the Church of Christ, being taught the truth by Christ, perpetually hath believed since the time of Christ. And yet is there no word thereof in Christ's gospel written.'

p. 19, l. 9. **saynt Austayn sayth and Luther hym selfe confesseth.** These references are given in the notes on p. 22, ll. 6-7.

p. 19, l. 20. **his boke agaynste me, of whyche booke,** etc. 'His boke agaynste me' is of course Tyndale's *Answer to Sir Thomas More's Dialogue*. The sections referred to in the rest of the sentence may be found in Tyndale's *Works* as follows: 'What the church is' (iii, 11); 'Whether the church can err' (iii, 30); 'Whether the church were before the gospel, or the gospel before the church' (iii, 24).

p. 19, l. 30. **These are Tyndals wordes.** The passage is correctly quoted according to the Parker Society's edition of Tyndale's works, with one exception. The reference to Paul's Epistle to the Romans (p. 20, ll. 2-3) is there correctly given as 'Rom. x.' But I find More's reference to agree with the *Answer* (fo. xiii) and the 1573 edition of Tyndale's works.

p. 20, l. 15. **'And moreouer.** The omitted passage referred to above (p. 15, l. 2) begins here and extends as far as 'Iohān' (p. 20, l. 27). The passage in which More answers the omitted words in a way that shows the omission was accidental is as follows (*Works*, 446-47):

'For if ye consider his words ye shall see that he coucheth them in such wise that he would make men ween that wheresoever there were a true belief, and false opinions taken away, that there it must needs be that men shall not consent to sin. Which thing he doth for the colour and cloak of their false opinion, by which they teach that faith alone alway sufficeth, wherein when they find themselves so shamefully confuted and convicted, they be loth to seem to flee by day, and therefore they flee by night, and retreat themselves in the dark, making as though they were mistaken and meant nothing but that whoso have a right belief and not a false opinion, it cannot be but that he must needs do well, as Tyndale saith here that he which doth not believe evil to be good, he shall never consent to sin. As it is a great folly to affirm this, so were it almost as much folly to confute this. For who is there that thinketh that to kill a man for his money is no sin? And yet many wretches do it. Who thinketh that advowtry is no sin? And yet many wretches do it. Who thinketh that to wed a nun is no sin? I dare say not even these wretches themselves that wed them, but they verily know it for sin; and yet the wretches do it. And therefore this tale of Tyndale's is but a very foolish heresy.'

p. 20, l. 33. **I receyue no witnesse of man.** In the third book of his *Confutation* More sharply criticizes Tyndale's translation as follows (*Works*, 447): 'For by these words of Christ in the fifth chapter of John, he would make it seem that there should no credence be given to the Church, because they be men, and therefore cannot, as Tyndale saith, bear witness unto Christ nor His word, sith Christ saith Himself, I receive no witness of man. . . . I shall show you what fraud and deceit Tyndale here useth, both in the translating and in the interpretation of these words of our Saviour Christ. . . . Christ in that place neither meaneth nor saith that He taketh no witness of man, as Tyndale rehearseth, but He both meaneth and saith that He taketh not His special witness of man, but of God. And to the intent that ye may the better perceive that, for to make his heresy seem proved by the gospel, he falsely translateth the gospel, ye shall understand', etc.

The point of More's criticism, as he proceeds to show in a seven-page elaboration, is that Tyndale has ignored the definite article; indeed to this principal criticism he adds three others: that Tyndale has not properly translated the negative; that the order of his words does not correctly represent the emphasis; that the Greek verb *lambano* ought to be translated 'take', not 'receive'.

p. 21, l. 17. **'I sayed in my dyaloge.** 'But, as I began to say, the holy apostles being taught by their great Master, Christ, did teach unto the

Church as well the articles of the faith as the understanding of such texts of scripture as was meet and convenient for the matter. Whereby it is not unlikely that the Gospel of Saint John and the Epistles of Saint Paul were then better understanden among the common people than they be peradventure now with some that take themselves for great clerks. And as the apostles at that time taught the people, so did ever some of them that heard them, teach forth, and leave their doctrine and traditions to other that came after. By reason whereof not only came the rites and sacraments and the articles of our faith from hand to hand, from Christ and His apostles unto our days, but also the great part of the right understanding of Holy Scripture by good and godly writers of sundry times.' (*Works*, 162.)

p. 21, l. 23. the ryghte fayth whyche Adam had. 'But as for the scripture, shortly, God hath so devised it that He hath given the world therein an inestimable treasure as the cause standeth. And yet we should haply nothing have needed thereof if the wounds of our own folly had not, of our great necessity and God's great goodness, required it. For at our creation He gave but two precepts or three, by His own holy mouth, to our first parents. And as for all that was for them to do beside, the reason which He had planted in their souls gave them sufficient warning. . . . And in this manner continued man long time, not without revelation of Christ once to come. Which faith, delivered to the father, went by the mouth to the son, and so from child to child, heard and believed among them. And whatso were God's pleasure beside, that nature and reason could not plainly show them, God of His goodness by special message gave them undoubted knowledge, as He did to Noah, Lot, and Abraham, and divers other, wherof some be since written and comprised in scripture, and of likelihood not all.' (*Works*, 156-7.)

A restatement of the argument for the authority of the unwritten word occurs in the third book of the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 205).

p. 22, l. 6. saynt Austayne declareth. The omission of the reference recalls More's comment on a similar omission in Frith's *Letter*: 'Howbeit, one thing he bringeth in by the way, that I would he had showed in what place we might find it, that is to wit, the saying of Saint Austyn; for why to seek out one line in all his books were to go look a needle in a meadow.' (*Works*, 837.)

The sentence to which More here refers, however, recurred so frequently in the controversy that the reference could scarcely be thought necessary. It is from Saint Augustine's *Contra Epistolam Manichæi* (Migne, *P. L.*, XLII, 176): 'Ego vero Evangelio non crederem, nisi me catholicæ Ecclesiæ commoveret auctoritas.'

p. 22, l. 7. and Luther hym selfe confesseth. In the *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiæ* (fo. K, v^o): 'Hoc sane habet Ecclesia, quod potest

discernere uerbum dei a uerbis hominum, sicut Augustinus confitetur se Euangelio credidisse, motum autoritate Ecclesiæ, quæ hoc esse Euangelium prædicabat,' etc.

p. 22, l. 13. **which he dyd not yf he suffered the chyrche to be dampnably deceyued.** The passage in his *Dialogue* to which More here refers is as follows (*Works*, 176):

'Yet would I, quoth I, ask you one thing. Wherefore, think you, will not Christ suffer His Church to be deceived in the discerning of Holy Scripture from other writing, and suffer them to take a book of Holy Scripture that were none indeed?

'Lest men might, quoth he, of some false book reputed of Holy Scripture, have great occasion given them to conceive the wrong doctrine and wrong opinions of the faith, if God would suffer His Church to take a false devised book for Holy Scripture and for His own holy words.

'Ye say, quoth I, very truth. Now what if in the very scripture He should suffer His Church mistake the very sentence in a matter substantial of our faith, were they not in like peril to fall by false understanding into like errors as they might by false writings?

'Yes, that they were, quoth he.

'Forsooth, quoth I, so were they and in much more. . . . But now if we falsely should understand the true scripture, there were no way to scape from damnable errors. And therefore may I say to you, as the King's Highness most prudently laid unto Luther, sith God will not suffer His Church to mistake a book of scripture for peril of damnable errors that might ensue thereon, and like peril may there ensue by the misconstruing of the sentence as by the mistaking of the book, it must needs follow that God will in things of our faith no more suffer them to take a false sentence for true than to take a false book for scripture. And with this reason his Highness concluded him so clearly that he durst never since for shame touch that point again, nor any colour could lay but that upon his own confession, in all substantial points concerning the faith or knowledge of virtue pleasant to God, the Church hath so right understanding of scripture that it well and truly perceiveth that no text therein can be right understanden against any article that the Church believeth for thing to be believed of necessity. And this point durst he never since touch nor make answer thereto, albeit that the King's Highness with this one point alone plainly turneth up and destroyeth the ground and foundation of all heresies that Luther would have believed. And therefore of all things had Luther greatest cause to answer this point earnestly, and would undoubtedly, if he had wist how.'

p. 22, l. 19. **I shewed in my sayed dyaloge.** Compare the notes on p. 18, l. 23; p. 21, l. 17; and the following restatement in the *Confutation* (*Works*, 411): 'For first the credence to be given to the whole book in which they be written hangeth all upon the same faith upon which

dependen the things that are unwritten. For as I believe the one, so believe I the other. And as one may, by his own frowardness, lack the grace to believe the things unwritten, so may another, by his own malice, lack the grace to believe any part of the whole book of Holy Scripture that is written, and take it all for fantasies. And in good faith I am afeard that so do they which say they believe nothing else but it. For as for part of that book they bring in question, as the book of the Maccabees, because it maketh against their purpose concerning purgatory. And part they let not much to deny, as Luther doth the Epistle of Saint James, because it speaketh plainly against his idle workless faith.'

p. 22, l. 37. set . . . forth in the fore fronte of hys batayle. The passage that More quotes occurs on p. 255 of the 1573 edition; the *Answer* itself begins on p. 247.

p. 23, l. 9. wyth all the helpe he hath had of all the heretykes in Almayne thys two or thre yere to gyther. Tyndale's association with Luther has already been noticed in the note on p. 13, l. 30. His employment of William Roie, the author (or joint author) of the heretical satire cited in the note on p. 11, l. 7, he admitted (i, 37-8). More in the *Confutation* (482) tells of a conference between Tyndale and Barnes. Demaus (170) is convinced that Tyndale associated at Marburg with Buschius and Francis Lambert (note on p. 104, l. 19). For a glimpse of the relations between Tyndale and Joye see the latter's *Apology*, 2-4. Tyndale's association with Frith is touched upon in the note on p. 102, l. 3.

p. 23, l. 24. fareth lyke a iugler that conuayeth hys galles, etc. This meaning of *gall* I do not find in the *N. E. D.* It is given by Delcourt as '*balle (d'un jongleur)*'.

Illustrations taken from jugglery occur frequently in More's English works. Compare, for example, the following characteristic passage (1094): 'Here is Master Masker fall[en] to juggling, lo, and as a juggler layeth forth his trinklets upon the table, and biddeth men look on this and look on that, and blow in his hand, and then with certain strange words to make men muse, whirleth his juggling-stick about his fingers to make men look upon that, while he playeth a false cast and conveyeth with the other hand something slyly into his purse or sleeve or somewhere out of sight; so fareth Master Masker here, that maketh Christ's holy words serve him for his juggling boxes, and layeth them forth upon the board afore us, and biddeth us, lo, look on this text, and then look, lo, upon this; and when he hath showed forth thus two or three texts, and bid us look upon them, he telleth us not wherefore, nor what we shall find in them. But because they be so plain against him, he letteth them slink away, and then to blear our eyen and call our mind fro the matter, up he taketh his juggling-stick, the commendation of faith, and whirleth that about his fingers, and saith', etc.

p. 30, l. 10. **in the laste chapyter of my fyrste parte**, etc. The chapter to which More refers is entitled (*Works*, 459): 'Whether the Apostles left aught unwritten that is of necessity to be believed.' His principal arguments in support of this important point may be summarized as follows: (1) Since on comparing the Gospels we perceive that each of the four evangelists omitted to write down certain important truths, we may deduce that in all probability all the important truths are not contained in the four Gospels. (2) Christ's words (John xvi, 12-13). (3) Saint John's words at the end of his Gospel. (4) Saint Paul's words (1 Cor., xi, 34). (5) The authority of the Church.

p. 30, l. 32. **are yet in scripture in dede**. As is for the sacrament, etc. In the first part of the *Confutation*, the answer to Tyndale's preface, More has occasion to cite scriptural authority for the sacraments and for various articles of the Catholic faith. The references (in marginal notes) are to chapters only. In the following note I have specified the verses, and have added parenthetically the page references where More's citations may be found in the 1557 edition.

Confirmation: *Act.* vi, 5-10; viii, 14-19; *Hebr.* vi, 2; 2 *Tim.* i, 6; (378). 'Aneyling' (Anointing) or Extreme Unction: *Jac.* v, 14-15; (379); *Marc.* vi, 13; (480). Holy Orders: 1 *Tim.* iv, 14; (381). Matrimony: *Eph.* v, 32; (379). The 'very blessed body and bloud of Chryste in the holy sacrament of the aulter': *Jo.* vi, 55; *Marc.* xiv, 22-24; *Luc.* xxii, 19-20; (834). 'Good workes agaynste fayth alone': *Jac.* ii, 17-26; (265); *Luc.* xi, 41; *Ecclus.* iii, 33; *Prov.* xiii, 8; *Mat.* xvi, 27; *Jo.* v, 29; 2 *Cor.* v, 10; *Apoc.* ii, 2-23; xxii, 12; etc. (667). 'Holy vowes of chastyte': *Luc.* i, 23; *Mat.* xix, 10-12; 1 *Tim.* iii, 2.

p. 31, l. 10. **holy saynte Austayne**, etc. Such lists of saints are not uncommon in More's controversial writings. Their names may be massed against a list of heretics, as here; or each saint may be paired with a heretic, 'Saint Austin against against Friar Luther,' etc. (*Works*, 330.)

The writings of Saint Augustine seem to have taken a strong hold upon the mind of More. In his youth we find him lecturing upon the *De Civitate Dei*; and the influence of this work upon the *Utopia* has been repeatedly noted, for example, by Lupton in his edition (xlix-li) and by Sherwin (180-3).

p. 31, l. 17. **Lambert**, etc. Not John, but Francis, whose name appears eight times in 'A Catalogue of Books Forbidden' (Foxe, iv, 668-70). The same Catalogue contains eleven entries under the name of Oecolampadius (Heussgen), as many more under Zwingli's name, and seven under Melancthon's. References in the text and notes for the names on the present list are as follows: **Barns**, p. 2, l. 12; **Swartherth** (Melancthon), p. 41, l. 7; **Baynam**, p. 98, l. 15; **Bayfelde**, p. 98, l. 16; **Hytton**, p. 105, l. 11; **Teuxbery**, p. 105, l. 14; **Byrt**, p. 132, l. 17; **Fryth**, p. 100; **George Ioy**, p. 8, l. 23; p. 132, l. 14; p. 132, l. 19.

p. 33, l. 22. **false inuencyons of Sathan (as Tindale sayth).** I have not found this phrase. More's 'unwritten verities' Tyndale turns into 'unwritten vanities'; the traditions of the Church he characterizes as 'false doctrine', or 'devilish doctrine', or 'unwritten lies', or 'dead dreams'.

p. 33, l. 23. **dampnable dremys of men (as Barns sayeth).** The sentence in which this phrase occurs (249) is quoted in the Introduction.

p. 35, l. 22. **pystle of saynt Iames, . . . whyche pystle frere Luther, etc.** Compare *De Captivitate Babylonica Ecclesiae* (fo. L): 'Omitto enim, quod hanc Epistolam, non esse Apostoli Iacobi, nec apostolico spiritu dignam, multi ualde probabiliter asserant, licet consuetudine auctoritatem, cuiuscunque sit, obtinuerit. Tamen si etiam esset Apostoli Iacobi, dicerem, non licere Apostolum sua auctoritate sacramentum instituere, id est, divinam promissionem cum adiuncto signo dare.'

And cf. Grisar, ii, 32; v, 522, and the references there given; and Camerlynck's article on this epistle in the *Cath. Encyc.*

p. 35, l. 24. **and frere Barns both, etc.** See his treatise, *Only Faith Justifieth* (238).

p. 36, l. 12. **I saye in my dyaloge that man may with his fre wyl, etc.** Of several possible passages it seems probable that More is referring to the following (*Works*, 206): 'For likewise as when we hear the scripture or read it, if we be not rebellious, but endeavour ourself to believe, and captive and subdue our understanding to serve and follow faith, praying for His gracious aid and help, He then worketh with us, and inwardly doth incline our heart into the assent of that we read, and after a little spark of our faith increaseth the credence in our incredulity; so doth His goodness in like wise incline and move the mind of every like toward and like well-willing body to the giving of fast and firm credence to the faith that the Church teacheth him in such things as be not in the scripture, and to believe that God hath taught His Church those points by His holy word without writing.' See also the twelfth chapter of the fourth book of the *Dialogue*, and Tyndale's scornful reply (iii, 211); and compare the note on p. 40, l. 8.

p. 36, l. 23. **'Oh how betleiblynde, etc.** This passage from Tyndale's *Answer* is quoted correctly except for the word *owne*, which is neither in the original nor in More's earlier quotation of the passage (*Works*, 579).

p. 37, l. 30. **But Tyndale layth that texte . . . agaynst the sacrament of baptisme.** In his *Obedience* (i, 276-77).

p. 38, l. 21. **what I ferther answeere Tindal.** The following paragraph from the passage to which More here refers (*Works*, 384-5) may serve for illustration: 'Albeit that God may cure a sore without a medicine, and do a miracle in a man's health, and that for the regard of

the man's good faith and his trust in God; yet if it please God to heal him by a plaster, though his faith be the cause why God doth it, yet is the plaster a mean in the doing, and serveth not for a bare sign. And surely when our Saviour set this order therein, that whoso were baptized in water in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost, he should be saved, and that except a man were born again as well of the water as of the spirit, he should not enter into the kingdom of heaven; God set it to serve for a more effectual thing than for a bare sign, void of any fruitful effect. For this were yet at the least wise no less than if a lord would say to a poor fellow, "Take thee here this badge, or this livery gown of mine, and if thou take it and wear it, I will take thee for mine household servant, and in mine household give thee meat and drink and wages; or else if thou wear it not, thou shalt not come within my doors." 'This livery gown giveth him neither meat nor money, but yet it is more than a sign that he shall have it; for the wearing thereof helpeth him to get it, not of any nature of the livery, but by his lord's ordinance.'

p. 40, l. 8. **let him rede in my fourth boke of Tyndales confutation.** The following illustrative passages are taken from the latter part of the fourth book, the parenthetical references being to the pages of More's *Works*: 'If man's will had no more part toward the attaining of the belief than the child hath in the begetting of his own father, I see not wherefore our Saviour should call upon the people and bid them do penance, and believe the Gospel, as he doth in the first chapter of Saint Mark.

'For though it be very true that, without God's help and God's grace preventing and foregoing, no man can believe; yet if there were nothing in the man himself whereby he might receive it, if he would with grace, which God of His goodness offereth, apply himself towardly to the receiving thereof, and whereby, on the other side, he might frowardly refuse it, or of sloth and negligence so slightly regard it that he were worthy to leese it—if there were, I say, no such thing in the man whereby he himself might somewhat do therein with God, our Lord would not call upon men and exhort them to believe, and praise them that will believe, and rebuke them that will not believe, as He doth in many places of the scripture.

'But now, against God and His Holy Scriptures, it is a world to see what slender things Tyndale allegeth. First, he saith that it is a beetle-blind fleshly folly to reckon that the good endeavour of man should be anything worth toward the attaining of faith, because that faith is the gift of God. Is not here an high reason? Who denieth that faith is a gift of God? But what letteth that that a man may not by his towardness endeavour himself to receive the gift of God by God's goodness freely offered unto him, or by his frowardness, sloth, or negligence, leese and forgo the gift of God? Is it anything against the nature of gift to be as

willingly received and taken as it is offered and given? If a man would give Tyndale a cup of gold, would Tyndale call it no gift if himself did with good will put forth his hand to take it? Doth the willing behaviour of the taker change the name and the nature of the gift, or anything minish the free, liberal mind of the giver? In good faith I must needs confess myself so beetle-blind that I can see no reason at all, neither fleshly nor ghostly, in this reason of Tyndale, nor, as I ween, Tyndale's own sharp eagle eyen neither.' (580.)

'Now if Tyndale would here labour to make us beetle-blind with his blunt subtleties, and tell us that we can do nothing till God prevent us with His grace, nor nothing but as His grace goeth on forth with us; these tales, when they be all told, be not worth a whistle. For ye may tell him again that we say not that man's endeavour can any good do without God.' (581.)

'Tyndale.—"My wit must show me a true cause or an apparent cause why, ere my will have any working at all."

'More.—Let Tyndale set his consequent and his conclusion to this antecedent made of this reason, and say: My wit must first show me some cause, either true or somewhat seeming true, before that my will can anything do at all; ergo none endeavour of myself in conforming and applying of my will, can anything do at all. And now when his argument is all made up, ye shall find it as full of reason as an egg full of mustard. For what though my wit and reason must first set my will awork, can yet my will, when it is once moved diversely between two reasons, nothing do at all in removing an obstinate leaning to the one side, or in working of a conformable inclination toward the consent of the other?' (582)

'To show also that God giveth not ordinarily the faith to folk but with some manner of towardness and conformity of their own good will, our Lord saith Himself unto the city that He so sore longed to convert, "Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft have I willed to gather they children together as an hen gathereth together her chickens, and thou wouldst not!"

'No man here doubteth but that our Lord, if He would have used some such ways as He could—it was in His power to inspire the knowledge of Himself into their hearts, and of all thing that He would have them believe; and that in such wise that they should not choose but believe, for they should not choose but know it, and that in such wise that they could not have thought the contrary. But God had determined to bring man to salvation, not in such inevitable wise, nor without some willing conversion and turning of man toward Him, though man cannot turn unto Him without prevention and concurrent help of God's especial grace.' (583)

Tyndale makes the will of man 'no will at all, any more than as he might say that the will of a tree were to grow and bring forth fruit and leaves, and that the will of an axe were to hew down the tree when a man smiteth the tree therewith.' (587-8.)

p. 40, l. 18. **yf thys preacher wyll . . . saye**, etc. More is glancing, of course, at the slanderous charges that he has already noticed (pp. 4-5).

p. 40, l. 24. **some of his audyence . . . dyd wryte yt dimynute and mangled for lacke of good remembraunce**. For a similar allegation made by Barnes when he was first charged with heresy see his *Works*, 205, 218.

p. 40, l. 36. **lyue in Antwarpe and be Tyndals man**. According to Demaus (378-80), Tyndale returned to Antwerp in 1533 and determined to make his permanent residence there.

p. 41, l. 6. **the dystynccyon that Tyndale**, etc. The distinction to which More refers is elaborated by Tyndale in his *Answer* (iii, 50-52) as follows: 'And when they ask, "Whether we believe not that it is God's word, by the reason that they tell us so?" I answer, "That there are two manner faiths, an historical faith, and a feeling faith." The historical faith hangeth of the truth and honesty of the teller, or of the common fame and consent of many: as if one told me that the Turk had won a city, and I believed it, moved with the honesty of the man; now if there come another that seemeth more honest, or that hath better persuasions that it is not so, I think immediately that he lied, and lose my faith again. And a feeling faith is as if a man were there present when it was won, and there were wounded, and had there lost all that he had, and were taken prisoner there also: that man should so believe, that all the world could not turn him from his faith. Then, even likewise, if my mother had blown on her finger, and told me that the fire would burn me, I should have believed her with an historical faith, as we believe the stories of the world, because I thought she would not have mocked me. And so I should have done, if she had told me that the fire had been cold, and would not have burned; but as soon as I had put my finger in the fire, I should have believed, not by the reason of her, but with a feeling faith, so that she could not have persuaded me afterward the contrary. So now with an historical faith I may believe that the scripture is God's, by the teaching of them; and so I should have done, though they had told me that Robin Hood had been the scripture of God: which faith is but an opinion, and therefore abideth ever fruitless; and falleth away, if a more glorious reason be made unto me, or if the preacher live contrary.'

p. 41, l. 7. **lerned of Philyppe Swartherthe**. Compare the following passage from the *Commentarii in Epistolam Pauli ad Romanos* (Op., III, 1048): 'Sed cum Paulus nominat fidem, non tantum requirit legem, aut noticiam historicam, sed ueram fidem, ac docet opera mandata aut concessa a Deo, facienda esse in fide, id est, cum hac fiducia, quod Deus propter mediatorem Christum nobis sit propicius, et quod propter illum Pontificem nostra opera placeant.'

See also his *Dispositio Orationis, in Epistola Pauli ad Romanos* (Op., IV, 9).

p. 41, l. 27. sayth saynt Austayn . . . He that hath created, etc. 'Qui ergo fecit te sine te, non te justificat sine te.' (Migne, *P. L.*, xxxviii, 923.)

p. 41, l. 36. yf they thynke that boke alone to longe, etc. The seventh book of the *Confutation* (*Works*, 661-734) is in itself almost as long as the *Apology*. The latter half of the book is devoted to the demolition of Tyndale's distinction between 'historical faith' and 'feeling faith'.

If authority could avail, More contends, the question would be settled by Saint Augustine's admission that he would not have believed the scripture but for the Church. But since authority will not avail in such a controversy, More submits Tyndale's exposition to a critical examination, and maintains that the interpretation of the story of the woman of Samaria as an illustration of this distinction is not only wholly without warrant, but based merely upon Tyndale's conjectures.

Proceeding to an elaborate *reductio ad absurdum*, More supposes Tyndale attempting to convert a multitude of infidels—Jews, Turks, and Saracens—and addressing them as follows (*Works*, 707): 'O all you Jews, and all you Turks too, and all ye Saracens' heads, hearken here unto me, . . . and believe me that these books be the very scripture of God, but believe it never the rather though all the knowen Catholic Church say so, for they be all as bad as ye be, and each of you as credible as any of them; and then be you Jews of more antiquity than they, and ye Turks and ye Saracens five times so many as they; and therefore why should you believe the Catholic Church for anything that they can say unto you? But I shall tell you whom ye shall believe. I say ye shall believe me, and I shall tell you a good cause why. For I have a feeling faith. For whatsoever I tell you, God hath Himself so written it in my heart that I feel it to be true. And therefore this is a plain, evident, open cause wherefore ye should believe me.'

Tyndale having implied that the authority of the Church had been impaired by the dissolute living of the clergy, More shows that Tyndale's 'feeling faith' according to his own admission, is not incompatible with the repeated commission of vicious crimes.

A still stronger objection appears in the important differences of belief among those who are supposed to have Tyndale's 'feeling faith'. More's own words on this point are as follows (*Works*, 729): 'And then sith all they [i.e., the heretics who have gone out of the Church] be by him the very church, all they must by his definition of the very church be needs very elects, and have by his own definition also the very feeling faith written in their hearts by God's own hand; I demand and ask of Tyndale, therefore, how it happeneth that his holy elects and faithful feeling folk . . . feel not all *one* faith, but in great necessary points of faith feel each of them so contrary faith to other that each of them feeleth other, and each of them calleth other, false fumbling heretics;

and though the false shrews conspire and agree together against the true Catholic Church, yet for their contrary sects so vary between themselves that Lutherans, Anabaptists, Huiskins, or Zwinglians, with many sects more, would one bite off another's nose. And whereas they complain that heretics be punished here, yet one sect there punisheth and killeth another among themselves. And thus, good readers, ye may easily see that their feeling faiths, so dissonant among themselves, so contrarious and repugnant, be not written in their hearts, as Tyndale saith, by the hand of God, whose spirit is the inspirer of unity, concord, and peace, but is, as I told you before, breathed and blown into the brothels' breasts by the spirit of discord, debate, and dissension—the devil.'

After a number of subordinate arguments, More threatens Tyndale with a shrewd dilemma, the more tenable horn of which would drive him to admit that the 'feeling faith' is infounded by God in every soul at the sacrament of baptism. Hence, according to Tyndale's reasoning, all who have been baptized—the Pope, his cardinals, and prelates, against whom Tyndale rages indiscriminately—belong in the number of 'elects', and are absolutely incapable of deadly sin.

In his final summary More emphasizes the fact that Tyndale, after all his attempts to make use of this distinction, does not deny 'that, as he came first to the knowledge of the articles of the faith by the preaching or reading of the books of the scripture, so came he first to the knowledge *which was* the scripture [i.e., to know which were the canonical books] by the teaching of the known Catholic Church.'

p. 42, l. 5. Swarterthe . . . hath made hys name now Melancthon. The form 'Melancthon', the Greek equivalent of Schwartert, adopted at the suggestion of Reuchlin when Philip was still a boy, had been changed to 'Melancthon' a year or two before More wrote his *Apology*. See Bretschneider, I, pp. cxxx-cxxxi.

p. 44, l. 6. father Alphonse the Spaynish frere. I can add nothing to Bridgett's footnote (297): 'Perhaps Alphonso de Castro, the emperor's confessor and a learned writer—but more probably another Father Alphonsus, also a minorite, who was confessor to Queen Katherine.' Bridgett's comment on the whole paragraph is: 'A bit of delicate banter about devils, ladies, and heretics, which is so characteristic of More's genius, that I must transcribe it.'

p. 46, l. 1. the Macedonyes . . . Plutarche wryteth. In the *Morals*, 195-96.

p. 46, l. 21. Tyndale and Fryth . . . call me a poete. The following jibes are from Tyndale's *Answer*: 'What may not M. More say, by authority of his poetry?' (iii, 168.) 'His eleventh chapter is as true as his story of Utopia, and all his other poetry.' (iii, 193.) 'Thus this poet may make a man to signify an ass, and black white. . . .' (iii, 229.) 'Lord, how this pontifical poet playeth his part!' (iii, 235.)

Frith, after quoting from More's *Supplication* a sentence in which the souls lament the heat of the fire with which they are tormented, adds (*Works*, 50): 'Verily among all his other poetry it is reason that we grant him this. Yea, and that our fire is but water in comparison to it.'

More occasionally replied in kind, not without a glance at Tyndale's conception of poetry. Compare, for instance, the following retort from the *Confutation* (*Works*, 421): 'And yet if poetry be, as Tyndale calleth it, nothing but feigning and lying, then is he cunning enough, and can, I assure you, make as much poetry upon any part of scripture as any poet can in England upon any part of Virgil.' And again (*Works*, 407) after calling attention to Tyndale's intentional obscurity, he continues: 'Out of which darkness I shall draw Tyndale anon, I trust; and according to my poetry, wherein he mocketh me, pull up Cerberus into the light.'

p. 46, l. 23. **I can neyther so myche poetry nor so myche rethoryque.** Rhetorical embellishment or 'fine writing' in the works of his opponents seldom escapes More's comment. Thus in his *Supplication* he ridicules Fish's elaborate use of iteration; thus, again, in the *Apology* (p. 154, ll. 7-11) he pokes fun at the Pacifier's reference to the 'apparel of a lamb.' For his own writings he disclaims any such artificialities; and if he does happen to make use of anything that might be called a rhetorical device, he is quite likely to explain—not without the hint of a smile—that he has fallen upon the figure unaware (p. 47, ll. 7-9).

p. 46, l. 28. **I sholde . . . call frere Barnes by the name of doctour.** According to Gairdner (*D. N. B.*) Barnes was made Doctor of Divinity in 1523. More glances at the degree (note on p. 2, l. 12) in the phrase 'sometime Doctor in Cambridge,' and once or twice he calls him 'Doctor Barnes' without any derogatory addition; but 'Friar Barnes', as above, is his usual designation. Foxe does not mention the fact to which More refers in the following sentence, that Barnes was 'by the Church, for false teaching, forbidden to teach'; but it would seem that this injunction must have been laid upon Barnes after his examination in 1526, and thus it would have remained in force at the time of his flight to the Continent. His remarks about this prohibition in his 'Whole Disputation Between the Bishops and Doctor Barnes' (218 and 223) tend to confirm this conclusion. Barnes states (223) that, on his complaint that he would not know what he ought to 'preach in time to come' unless the bishops clearly showed him the heretical character of his past utterances, the 'Bishop of Bath answered that I should take no care for that, for as for preaching he would provide for me.'

p. 47, l. 22. **Barons wryteth against the whole clergy.** More having made a similar charge in his *Confutation*, Barnes in his reply protested as follows (252): 'But after that, cometh M. More, and he layeth to my charge that I counted all the spirituality to be naught, because he would

make my name somewhat odious unto them. But verily he doth me great wrong; for it was never my meaning, nor yet my saying.'

More may have had in mind such a passage as the following (Barnes's *Works*, 243): 'But shortly, if the devil would come in his own person disguised, tell me how it were impossible [*sic*] that he could be more contrary to Christ and His apostles than those men that call themselves the Holy Church. Yea, take away the name of the Church, and set in her stead the name of the devil, and how will you then know a bishop from the devil? By their works? Nay, truly, for they be all one. And yet will you be the heads of Christ's Church—yea, the Holy Church herself; not so, ye wicked, not so.'

The words 'those men that call themselves the Holy Church' might easily be taken as referring to the entire clergy; but the context suggests that Barnes is here, as usually, attacking the bishops. One other passage, clearly aimed at the prelates, must be added, if only as a specimen of the railing that occasionally provokes More's comment: 'You worms' meat, you stinking carrion, you nourishment of hell fire, how dare you thus presume against your God Omnipotent? Whither will you fly to avoid his danger? Heaven and earth, water and fire, sun, moon, and stars, saints and angels, man and child, be against you and hold you accursed. What though the devil laugh on you for a season, remember the end. But God give you His grace, that I lose not my labour about you.' Foxe, the editor of Barnes's works, naïvely comments, in a marginal note⁷ opposite the above-quoted 'labour': 'Doctor Barnes is vehement.' (*Works*, 290.)

Barnes's faculty for railing is also remarked by Bishop Gardiner in his *Declaration*. In his preface 'to the reader' Gardiner speaks of Barnes as 'one of a mery skoffynge witte frerelike', as 'a good felowe in company', and as 'beloued of many'; and adds that Barnes 'beganne there [i.e., at Cambridge, where Gardiner first knew him] to exercise raylynge', and that he carried his railing and jesting upon Wolsey to the point of preaching against the 'cardinall affections'.

p. 47, l. 23. Tindale saith . . . there is neuer one good. 'Notwithstanding because, as they be all shaven, they be all shameless to affirm that they be the right church and cannot err, though all the world seeth that not one of them is in the right way, and that they have with utter defiance forsaken both the doctrine and living of Christ and of all his apostles' (iii, 42; and cf. 52).

p. 47, l. 35. thys . viiii . hundred yere.¹ This period is often specified by Tyndale (iii, 9, 46, 53, 145, etc.).

p. 48, l. 1. honour to Cristes crosse: Tyndale, iii, 60, 84. prayed vnto sayntes: Tyndale, i, 66, 289-90, iii, 181; Barnes, 340, 346-7, 365-6. reuerenced theyr relyques: Tyndale, iii, 83, 123; Barnes, 339-55. ben baptysed in latyne: Tyndale, i, 276. taken martyrmony for a sacrament: Tyndale, i, 254, iii, 175; Barnes, 337. vsed

confessyon: Tyndale, i, 263, 336-7; Barnes, 369-72, 203. done penance for synnys: Tyndale, i, 260; Barnes, 370. prayed for all crysten soules: Tyndale, i, 94, 96 (cf. Foxe, v, 573-4); Barnes, 216. ben aneyled in theyr deth bedde: Tyndale, i, 275. taken theyre housell: Tyndale, iii, 96, 179 (?). set more by the masse then they sholde do: Tyndale, iii, 179-80; Barnes, 356-8. byleued that it was a sacryfye: Tyndale, iii, 177; Barnes, 357. neither brede nor wyne: Tyndale, iii, 178, 261. very bodye and blood: Tyndale, i, 380-3.

p. 48, l. 13. All these thynges say Tyndale and Barns. No reference to Barnes was given after a number of the preceding items. I have not seen a copy of the *Fürnemlich Artickel der Christlichen Kirchen*, which has been described as a defence of certain articles of the Lutheran creed, and might, therefore, furnish further illustration. As a Lutheran Barnes was violently opposed to the Zwinglian view of the Blessed Sacrament, but as late as 1531 More seems to have been ignorant of this fact and speaks of Zwingli as 'the first that brought Barnes's heresy . . . concerning the sacrament of the altar' to Switzerland (*Works*, 155). Barnes thereupon wrote a personal letter to More, protesting that he was wrongfully accused of that heresy. The following year More, in his *Letter* to Frith (*Works*, 843), publicly acknowledged the receipt of Barnes's letter and quoted his denial of the accusation. The same passage is also quoted, at second hand, by Frith in his reply (*Works*, 155).

In our present list one or two of the items seem to have been carefully worded so as to include the views of both Frith and Barnes.

p. 48, l. 31. vilanously ieste and rayle. See the passage quoted from Tyndale in the note on p. 114, l. 11, an example particularly noticed by More.

p. 49, l. 27. I sumewhat sharply rebuke wedding of frerys & nonnys. The sharpness of More's abuse of Luther's marriage displeased the editor of Tyndale's *Works*, who thought it strange (iii, 2-3) that More 'should not have perceived, that there was neither argument nor decency in twitting Tyndale with Luther's marriage, page after page, and in the coarsest terms'. To judge such passages according to modern taste would of course be preposterous; to deny that they constituted an argument seems to me questionable. Probably it was urged against Tyndale because he defended Luther's marriage. At all events, one can scarcely afford to ignore More's carefully explained reason for such abuse (note on p. 3, l. 33). The frequency of these violent passages shows not only how deeply More was shocked by 'the wedding of friars and nuns' but also how firmly he believed that their broken vows and 'incestuous lechery' must discredit their teachings. See also pp. 31-32, 49-50 above, and the second note on p. 104, l. 19.

p. 49, l. 35. **some they call noughte by name, whose specyall goodnes shall haue recorde . . . of all good folke that know them.** More's friend, John Fisher, the virtuous and venerable Bishop of Rochester, is described, or referred to, by Tyndale in the following phrases: 'past all shame' (i, 189); 'O malicious blindness!' (i, 213); 'God stop his blasphemous mouth!' (i, 220); 'both abominable and shameless, yea, and stark mad with pure malice, and . . . adased in the brains with spite' (i, 221); 'a beast faithless' (i, 223). By Barnes (237) he is warned of his 'everlasting damnation'.

More's epitaph (*Works*, 1419) records his own opinion of his friend Bishop Tunstall in the following words: 'postremo vero Cameraci comes et collega iunctus principi legationis Cuthberto Tunstallo tum Londinensi mox Dunelmensi episcopo, quo viro vix habet orbis hodie quicquam eruditius, prudentius, melius.' Against this dear friend of his, whose wisdom, learning, and integrity of life were acknowledged by Bilney, More found Tyndale directing such comments as the following: 'that still Saturn, the imaginer of all mischief' (ii, 321); 'a ducking hypocrite, made to dissemble' (ii, 327). Of Bishop Tunstall Barnes writes (215): 'I have marvel that my lordship is not ashamed thus shamefully and thus lordly to lie, although he might do it by authority.'

p. 50, l. 20. **the fawtes of some, they lewdely laye to all.** This protest recurs in the Answer of the Ordinaries to the Petition of the Commons (Froude, i, 213, 216; Gee and Hardy, 155, 161).

p. 51, l. 5. **parcyall towarde the spyrytualty.** In his *Answer to the Poisoned Book* (*Works*, 1120) More touches with characteristic irony some of the ridiculous rumours that were circulated by those who sought maliciously to explain this alleged partiality: 'This is also by Master Masker wonderful wisely feigned, that More hath feigned all these things, even to the intent to stablish the Pope's kingdom. But now what great cause should move me to bear that great affection to the Pope, as to feign all these things for stablishment of his kingdom, that thing Master Masker telleth you not. . . . For he thinketh that every man knoweth already that the Pope is my godfather, and goeth about to make me a cardinal.'

p. 51, l. 15. **and by twyse weddyng am come in the case that I can neuer be preste.** Compare Tyndale's *Answer* (iii, 153): 'Now I desire a reason of Master More's doctrine: what doth my second wife, or my third, hinder me to love my neighbour as myself, and to do him service, against I come to be priest? What let is your second wife to you, to serve our holy father the pope, more than your first would have been?'

In this sneer at More, Tyndale has in mind not only More's second marriage, but also a passage in the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 229).

p. 51, l. 17. **all the landes and fees that I have**, etc. For details of the various sources of More's income and later reduced circumstances see Roper, 207, 236-8, 255-6; Cresacre More, 32; Harpsfield, *Life*, 143-6; *L. & P.*, ii, pt. 1, p. 875, pt. 2, No. 4247; iii, pt. 2, Nos. 3267, 3270; iv, No. 6079; viii, Nos. 149 (16th item), 632 (13th item), 800, 1101; Bruce, *Archæologia* XXVII, 362, 369; *Statutes of the Realm*, iii, 528, 629.

p. 52, l. 6. **as theyr holy father writeth**. Their 'holy father', Tyndale, in his *Exposition upon the V. VI. VII. Chapters of Matthew* (ii, 100), found occasion to introduce the following exegetical comment: 'Finally, covetousness maketh many, whom the truth pleaseth at the beginning, to cast it up again, and to be afterward the most cruel enemies thereof, . . . after the ensample of sir Thomas More, Kt, which knew the truth, and for covetousness forsook it again, and conspired first with the cardinal to deceive the king, and to lead him in darkness: and afterward, when the light was sprung upon them, . . . so that the spirituality (as they call themselves) were ashamed of their part, as shameless as they be; yet for all that, covetousness blinded the eyes of that gleering fox more and more, and hardened his heart against the truth, with the confidence of his painted poetry, babbling eloquence, and juggling arguments of subtle sophistry, grounded on his "unwritten verities," as true and as authentic as his story of Utopia.'

In his *Answer* Tyndale had made the same preposterous accusation more pointedly (iii, 16): 'But, verily, I think that as Judas betrayed not Christ for any love that he had unto the high priests, scribes and Pharisees, but only to come by that wherefore he thirsted; even so M. More (as there are tokens evident) wrote not these books for any affection that he bare unto the spirituality, or unto the opinions which he so barely defendeth, but to obtain only that which he was an hungred for.'

It seems to be the second of these passages to which More replies with characteristic irony in his *Confutation* (*Works*, 423): 'But now after this Tyndale handleth me full uncourteously, for he taketh away all my thank and reward that I should have had of the spirituality. For he showeth them that I wrote not my book for any affection that I bear to them, no more than Judas betrayed Christ for any favour that he bare to the high priests, scribes, and Pharisees; but that I did the one as he did the other, for the lucre that should come thereof.'

p. 52, l. 10. **In good fayth I wyll not saye nay, but that**, etc. The offer of this reward and More's refusal of it are described in a well-known passage by Roper (232-234).

p. 54, l. 1. **when I was fyrste of the kynges counsayle**, etc. In 1518 Sebastian Giustinian speaks of More (*Venetian State Papers*, ii, No. 1072) as 'newly made councillor', and that date is generally

accepted. On the other hand, More is called 'councillor' in the entry of an annuity (referred to in the note on p. 51, l. 17) in 1516. The other dates are as follows: Under-Treasurer, 1521; Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, 1525; Chancellor of the Realm, 1529.

p. 55, l. 9. **But surely my guise is not to lay the fawtes of the noughty, to the charge of any whole company.** Compare the *Confutation* (*Works*, 783): 'But yet would Saint Gregory tell him that if he were honest or true, he should not lay the faults of the naughty parts to the blame of the whole body, in which be many full good.'

p. 57, l. 9. **he hath . . . certayne proper inuented fygures.** More refers to Saint-German's continual use of the formula 'some say', which serves alike to introduce legitimate criticism, indefinite rumour, and actual mis-statement. More's sarcastic repetition of the formula, Saint-German's solemn complaint, and the 'merry tale' with which More answers him are noticed in the Introduction.

p. 57, l. 23. **recompensed in a nother parte.** More refers to the seventh and eighth chapters, which contain Saint-German's proposals for a more lenient treatment of heretics.

p. 58, l. 17. **as laudable a temporalty . . . so hath it had also,** etc. See p. 122, l. 8, and note thereon.

p. 62, l. 37. **vse the prestes ouer familyarely, and geue them ouer gay gownes or lyght coloured lyuereys.** See p. 218, ll. 1-14, and the amusing use that More makes of that passage in his *reductio ad absurdum* (p. 65, ll. 18-23).

p. 63, l. 5. **in one place . . . he layeth against them both,** etc. See p. 215, ll. 20-30.

p. 64, l. 4. **who may remember the state,** etc. This elaborate *reductio ad absurdum* is quite characteristic. These opening sentences should be compared with Saint-German's first paragraph (205).

p. 64, l. 27. **some thinges false,** etc. See pp. 120, 124, 185.

p. 65, l. 1. **tyll you meke your self,** etc. On this page see especially pp. 215, 218.

p. 65, l. 8. **all hys Some sayes be of his owne sayenge.** See p. 125.

p. 66, l. 16. **good man Somesaye.** This and the 'brother Some say' of the next sentence are the first hints of what later develops into the asrcastic 'Sir John Some-say', an alternative for the ironical epithet, 'the Pacifier'. Similarly the anonymous author of *The Supper of the Lord*, the 'poisoned book' that More answered in 1534, is regularly called 'Master Masker'.

p. 66, l. 26. **he gathereth out of Iohan Gerson.** The particular tract from which the Pacifier gathered his criticisms is the *Declaratio Compendiosa Defectuum Virorum Ecclesiasticorum*. How closely he followed Gerson may be seen from a comparison of the following extracts (*Opera Omnia*, ii, 314 ff.) with the passage in the second chapter of the 'Book of Division' (app. pp. 210-13 above).

'Et ut de pluribus taceam, & grandioribus. 1°. Ubi est, quod Episcopus bonus, & probatus opere, & doctrina eligatur, non puer, non homo carnalis spiritualium ignarus? 3°. Quod pro sepultura, Confessione, Ordinatione, Promotione, nullo prætextu ubicunque aliquid exigatur, aut detur? 8°. Quod Episcopi, & Sacerdotes spectaculis, & ludis non intersint, nec delectentur? 14°. Ubi quod non licet quemcunque Clericum, vel Episcopum die Dominico absentem esse, sed Missarum solemnibus interesse jejunum? 17°. Quod nullus Sacerdotum a Quinquagesima usque Pascha carnes comedat? 18°. Quod Sacerdotes Adventum Christi jejurent? 23°. Qui Scripturis divinis studeant Episcopi, & Sacerdotes, maxime Monachi & Religiosi; scientiis litigiis, & practicis omissis? 25°. Ubi quod per Annos singulos Episcopi Parochias suas circumneant cum effectū? 26°. Ut ad mensam Episcopi Scripturæ divinæ legantur? 28°. Quod Clericus scurrilis, & verbis turpibus plenus ab officio retrahatur? 31°. Ubi quod stipendia Clericorum juxta merita distribuantur personarum? 32°. Quod Clerici nuptialia vitent convivia? 33°. Quod Clerici tabernas non ingrediantur, nec in eis dominetur crapula, & ebrietas? 34°. Ubi est illud Carthaginensis Concilii quarti, ut Episcopus vilem supellectilem, & mensam, ac victum pauperem habeat, & dignitatis suæ auctoritatem fide, & meritis quærat? 35°. Quod Episcopus pro rebus transitoriis non leviter litiget? 37°. Quod studendum est Clericis, ut dissidentes fratres magis ad pacem, quam ad iudicium cohortentur? 39°. Quod Clericus quemlibet verbo erudiat, & ne pauperes graventur; ut Paulus artificio victum quærat? 43°. Quod Clerici Actus secularium, vel procuraciones non suscipiant? 44°. Quod laici Clericos Actores, vel rectores sibi non constituent? 45°. Ubi est hodie illud Calcedonensis Concilii: 'Monachi tantummodo intenti sint jejuniis, & orationibus, in locis ubi renuntiaverint sæculo, nec Ecclesiasticis, vel sæcularibus negotiis, propria Monasteria deserendo, insistant.' . . . 47°. Ubi quod Clerici aleatores, venatores &c. Communionem priventur? 48°. . . . Et Chrysostomus super illud Matth. xxi. 12. *Et intravit Jesus templum: Sicut, dicit, de Templo omne bonum egreditur, ita et de Templo omne malum procedit. Si enim Sacerdotium integrum fuerit, tota Ecclesia floret; si autem corruptum fuerit, omnium Fides et virtus marcida est; sicut cum videris arborem pallentibus foliis, intelligis quia vitium habet in radice, sic cum videris populum indisciplinatum, sine dubio cognosce, quia sacerdotium ejus non est sanum.* Ubi est forte propter hoc devotio & obedientia inferiorum, defensio militum, pax Principum Christianorum ad finem, ut inter se concordēs impugnent schismaticos & infideles,

recuperando Regiones quas jam Christianis abstulerunt, & perverterunt. . . . 49°. Iterum. Ad quid expedit, aut quid utilitatis Ecclesiæ confert tam magnifica Principum gloria, & tam superflua Prælatorum, Cardinalium pompa, ut quasi se homines esse nescire faciant? . . . 51°. Quid est, quod hodie unus utinam mediocriter doctus, tenet quatuor, quinque vel sex, vel octo Beneficia, quorum uno non est dignus; quibus octo sustentari possent, doctrinis, orationibus, & divinis laudibus insistentes. Attendite, an potius hodie equi, canes, & aves, & superflua Ecclesiasticorum familia patrimonium Ecclesiæ comedere debeant, quam pauperes Christi, vel quam ad divini cultus ampliationem, & pro infidelium conversione, aut in hujusmodi pietatis operibus, modis congruis expendendum sit? 52°. Quot hodie loca divini cultus, ut Monasteria, & venerabilium Martyrum Ecclesiæ Romæ, & alibi, ob prædicta, & ex Prælatorum incuria desertæ sunt, & destructæ? 55°. Quid est, quod gladius Ecclesiæ scilicet Excommunicatio in sui contemptum modo tam leviter extrahitur, & pro modica re, ut pro debitis, vel hujusmodi, tam crudeliter in pauperes extenditur? 56°. Quid est quod una causa super modica re durat tam multis Annis? Quare litium prolixitas pauperum spoliatrix, convenienti modo non rescinditur? 57°. Quare conversis Judæis de eorum bonis misericorditer non datur vitæ necessitas, potius quam egestate compulsi apostatent, & Christianos impietatis arguant? 67°. Judicate si tanta imaginum, & picturarum in Ecclesiis varietas expediat, & an plures simplices nunquam ad idololatriam pervertant. 70°. Discutite, si expediat quorundam tam larga exemptio, & privilegiatio, atque ab Ordinarium coercitio sit commoda subductio. 75°. Perquirite, si quæ Scripturæ apocryphæ, aut Hymni, aut Orationes, successu temporis, studio, vel ignorantia, in detrimentum Fidei introductæ sint.

Since the various complaints have been numbered as in the original, omissions have been indicated only when they occurred within the limits of a single item. The last quotation in the Pacifier's list (app., 213) occurs in the original at the end of the 48th item, as follows: 'Sed nunquid hodie omnes Sacerdotes Domini, & Prælati in ante dictis & post dicendis culpabiles sunt malis? Absit. *Reliquit enim Dominus sibi in Israel septem millia virorum, quorum genua non sunt curvata ante Baal.* 3. Reg. xix. 18.'

p. 66, l. 34. this pacyfyer contrary wyse, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* Saint-German replies that Gerson's method had proved ineffective.

In the *Debellation* (*Works*, 937) More points out that this 'excuse amounteth to no more but that he meant that some laymen, reading the priests' faults in English, might put them in remembrance to mend them—specially because he saith even in the same chapter, a little afore, that the temporalty so much delighteth to hear of them.' Saint-German had said (fo. IX) that 'if a priest be amonge lay men, he can not better content them, as to mooste companies, than to speke of the pride and couetice of priestes.'

p. 67, l. 24. **than hath some other sotle shrew . . . deceyued him.** To this suggestion, which More repeats again and again as the most charitable explanation that the circumstances admit, Saint-German replies in *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XCI) as follows: 'And farther I wyll ascertyne maister More as far as *in* me is, that I had neyther any subtil shrewes counsell, ne any euill counsel at the making of the said tretise, which he calleth the boke of diuision, as is said before.'

p. 67, l. 34. **fewe partes . . . had . . . such indifferencye**, etc. In the *Debellation* (*Works*, 937) More notes that 'whereas in his Book of the Division he would have seemed between the temporalty and the spirituality to have spoken indifferently, and to have told them their faults on both parts egally, here [*Salem and Bizance*, fo. X v^o] . . . he telleth us the cause wherefore he did not so, and saith in this wise.

'"I have spoken of defaults and abuses in the spirituality more than of defaults in the temporalty because the spirituality ought to be the guiders and givers of light by their doctrine and good examples to the temporalty; and if their light be darkness, where shall the temporalty then fetch their light? Truly I wot not where."'

p. 68, l. 25. **'Who maye remember**, etc. This paragraph is correctly quoted except that the second *also* (l. 31) is not in the original (p. 205).

p. 68, l. 34. **lament this mannys wyt, that weneth yt lesse to be lamented**, etc. Though More's criticism may at first sight seem to be a bit captious, he is sincerely anxious about what he takes to be a reflection upon the religious orders.

Saint-German devotes the eleven pages of the seventh chapter of *Salem and Bizance* to the explanation of what he meant by the clause that aroused More's suspicions. The following sentence (fo. XX v^o) may suffice for the present purpose: 'Therefore when the variances betwixte religious and religious, and betwixte priestes and religious, be fyrste recited in the said treatise, it foloweth after, And that is yet more to be lamented, that it is also betwene priestes and priestes: As who saithe, it is more to be lamented, when variances be betwene them all, in all the said thre degrees, then if they were betwene them onely in the firste two degrees, that is to say betwixt religious and religious, and betwixt priestes & religious, and not betwene priestis & priestis. And therfore the said treatise sheweth, that variances be betwene spirituall men in all the said three degrees; wherfore they be the more to be lamented, and not bicause the offence of priestis is more than the offence of religious.'

p. 71, l. 15. **the carmelytes clayme to fetch theyr orygynall**, etc. For the claim see Hélyot, i, 635; for discussion and bibliographies see *Acta SS.*, April, I, 764 ff., May, II, 707 ff.; and Reusch, ii, 267-76.

p. 71, l. 20. yet of all these maters was there neuer, etc. The similarity between the Petition of the Commons and the 'Book of Division' is occasionally matched by a less striking similarity between the Answer of the Ordinaries and More's reply to Saint-German. The second paragraph of the Answer, for example, is recalled by the present sentence. See Gee and Hardy, 155.

p. 72, l. 1. of late synne Tindals bokes, etc. Cf. the preamble of the Petition of the Commons (Froude, i, 211; Gee and Hardy, 145), in which, however, Tyndale is not named.

p. 75, l. 10. yt shold be so noysed. Saint-German's text (see p. 206) reads 'hit is so noysed.'

p. 76, l. 38. folysh apys that the deuyll hath to tumble afore hym. More's pet monkey, celebrated by Erasmus, painted by Holbein, and playfully remembered in the *Utopia*, makes 'mocks and mows' in many an illustration throughout the English works. Cf., for examples, pp. 374, 398.

p. 79, l. 23. I wote nere . . . meaneth therby. Quoting these words in ch. viii of *Salem and Bizance*, Saint-German consents to 'speke somewhat fether of honour.' He points out the dangers of inordinate ambition and explains that if any spiritual man, by reason of any spiritual dignity, should accept some worldly honour and for the sake of that honour should neglect charity, justice, or the ministration of the sacraments, God would be dishonoured rather than honoured by such conduct.

p. 80, l. 9. trentals, chaunteryes, obytes. See Gasquet's discussion, *Eve of the Reformation*, pp. 327, 352-64.

p. 80, l. 28. And yet where this pacifyer sayth, that some, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XXVII v^o) Saint-German quotes this paragraph through the word *also* (l. 38), and then protests that it is 'a very derke sentence, so moche intriked with some sayes, after the maner of a gestyng facion'. It was this protest that drew forth the delightful merry tale quoted in the Introduction (p. lix.).

A further specimen of More's manner of dealing with his heavy opponent may be cited here. After seriously justifying the title of the *Apology*, to which Saint-German had objected, More proceeds to poke a bit of fun at the fact that Saint-German had ventured to call his reply a dialogue, and at the awkwardness of some of his devices, as follows (*Works*, 933):

'But now because he showeth himself so cunning in Greek words that upon this word "apology" he findeth the aforesaid fault with mine *Apology*, as though I were overseen, and observed not the nature of an apology; let us see how well himself, that in the beginning calleth his book a dialogue, observeth the nature and property of a dialogue.

'In the third leaf, when Salem sheweth himself desirous to see the Pacifier's answer, Bizance answereth:

"I shall cause it to be written hereafter in this dialogue word for word as it is come to my hands, and then thou shalt with good will have it. And thou shalt understand that this answer beginneth at the next chapter hereafter ensuing, and continueth to the place where I shall show thee that it endeth."

'Consider, good readers, that this introduction he doth not bring in as rehearsal of a communication had before, but as a communic[at]ion present.'

After more jesting about the characters' referring to the chapters of their own conversation, and about the awkwardness of writing the answer into their conversation, More concludes:

'And what reason hath it to tell him whereabouts in their communication the Pacifier's words shall begin and where they shall end, as though Salem, talking with Bizance, had not the wit to perceive when Bizance speaketh himself, and when he readeth him the Pacifier's words written!

'Also what a strange monstrous beast maketh Bizance to Salem the Pacifier's answer while he maketh as though Salem could neither perceive the head nor the tail but if himself pointed him to them both with a stick!'

p. 81, l. 34. the chapell well hanged wyth wax. Cf. the following sentence from the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 195): 'In other pilgrimages ye see hanged up legs of wax, or arms, or other such parts.' Rock (vol. III, pt. I, pp. 461, 465-6) discusses and explains the practice. It should be noted, however, that Gasquet (*Eve of the Reformation*, 110) in quoting the present passage inserts the word *candles* in parentheses after the word *wax*.

p. 82, l. 31. set no more by a trentall then a ruffiane at Rome setteth by a trent vne. Perhaps *trent vne* is equivalent to *trentuno*, which Florio defines as 'a punishment inflicted vppon raskalie whores in Italy'.

p. 84, l. 33. Simon Fysshe whan he made the supplycacyon of beggers. According to A. F. Pollard (*Wolsey*, 220) and Foxe (iv, 657) Fish took the leading part in 'a masque produced at Gray's Inn at Christmas, 1526, in which the cardinal discerned an attack on himself.' Creighton (*D. N. B.*) tells of Fish's flight to the Low Countries, his association there with Tyndale and Roy, and his return as an agent for the distribution of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament. About a year after his first flight he again fled to the continent, and it was apparently during this second exile that he wrote the *Supplication for the Beggars*. Creighton believes that the book was presented to the King early in 1529, and remarks that just before the assembling of parliament in November of that year 'London was flooded with copies of it, in a way which suggests the connivance of some one in authority.'

p. 84, l. 35. **repented hym selfe and came into the chyrche agayne.** This statement was not contested by Foxe.

p. 85, l. 19. **this man was not mych afore hand.** The implication is that the man was not prepared to pay his debts. The earliest instance that the *N. E. D.* gives of this word in the sense of 'provided for the future' is in 1626.

p. 85, l. 26. **hys own proteccion fell out of his sleue.** The particular type of this class of documents to which More apparently refers here is defined by Bouvier as protection granted by the King to a party to an action, by which he is protected from a judgment which would otherwise be rendered against him.

p. 86, l. 22. **ferther then the goodys . . . of onely spyrytuall men.** This argument is condensed from More's *Supplication* (*Works*, 304-5): 'For he shall not fail, as we said before, if this bill of his were sped, to find you soon after, in a new supplication, new bald reasons enow that should please the people's ears, wherewith he would labour to have lords' lands and all honest men's goods to be pulled from them by force, and distributed among beggars. Of which there should, in this wise that he deviseth, increase and grow so many that they should be able for a sudden shift to make a strong part. . . . We be content that ye believe us not but if it have so proved already by those uplandish Lutherans that rose up in Almayne. Which being once raised by such seditious books as is this beggars' *Supplication*, and such seditious heretics as is he that made it, set first upon spiritual prelates. But shortly thereupon they so stretched unto the temporal princes that *they* were fain to join, in aid of themselves, with those whom they laughed at first to see them put in the peril, hoping to have had the profit of their loss, till they saw that they were likely to leese their own with them.

. . . 'For if he might first have the clergy put out of their living, and all that they have, clean taken from them, and might have them joined to these beggars that be now, and over that, added unto them . . . all those that the clergy find now full honestly; this pageant once played, and his beggars' bill so well sped, then—when the beggars should have so much less living, and be so many mo in multitude—surely likewise as for the beggars he now maketh his bill to the King's Highness against bishops, abbots, priors, prelates, and priests, so would he then within a while after make another bill to the people against merchants, gentlemen, kings, lords, and princes, and complain that they have all, and say that they do nothing for it but live idle, and that they be commanded in Genesis to live by the labour of their hands in the sweat of their faces, as he saith by the clergy now. Wherein if they ween that they shall stand in other case than the clergy doth now, they may peradventure sore deceive themselves. For if they will think that their case shall not be called all one, because they have lands and goods to live upon, they must

consider so hath the clergy too. But that is the thing that this beggars' proctor complaineth upon, and would have them taken away.'

p. 87, l. 31. **saynte Poule . . . Hauyng mete**, etc. 1 *Tim.* vi, 8.

p. 87, l. 36. **a diete as thynne as Galiene deuyseth**, etc. Compare the following passage from the *Epitome Galeni Operum* (407): 'Fingamus enim in hepate esse proxime dictum affectum, in angustis vasorum finibus, impactis humoribus, qui vel lenti & tenaces vel crassi existant, vel superabundent: nonne in promptu est, primum quidem crassitiem vnam cum lentore & tenacitate, cibis ac potibus extenuantibus, ad subtiliorum partium substantiam transferri oportere?' The marginal note is, 'Hepatis obstructi curatio.'

p. 89, l. 2. **the story that Titus Liuius telleth**, etc. The passage that More paraphrases may be found in lib. xxiii, cap. II-III.

p. 93, l. 9. **Isope telleth a fable**, etc. 'Death and the Old Man.'

p. 94, l. 17. **a greate rumble that the heretykes made**, etc. See Lingard, iii, 231-2; and Gairdner, *Lollardy*, i, 47-98. More's words in the next clause may have been suggested by the preamble of the Act of 1414 (Ruffhead, i, 493 ff.).

p. 94, l. 20. **a folysshe byll . . . or twayn**, etc. See Capes, 183; Capgrave, 287; and Gairdner, *loc. cit.*

p. 95, l. 5. **And those he sayeth are polytyke, whyche**, etc. To this statement Saint-German objects in *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XXXVII v) as follows: 'Of these words [i.e., p. 83, l. 35 to p. 84, l. 14] master More gadereth, that I shulde say, that these men be politike men, and therin he mistaketh the sentence of the saide treatise greatly: for the sentence is not, that they do it politikely, but that they do it as of a policie.' Saint-German devotes more than a page to explaining the difference between these two expressions.

p. 96, l. 3. **withdraw therwyth our almyse frome the pore lay people to**, etc. More's idea here may be illustrated by the following passage from the *Supplication* (*Works*, 292): 'But although we [i.e., the souls in purgatory] be more beggars than your beggars be—as folk daily begging our alms of you and them both—yet envy we not them as one of them doth another; but we pray and require you to give them for our sakes, whereby your gift greatly comforteth us both. And they be also our proctors, and beg in our name, and in our name receive your money, whereof we receive both your devotion and their prayers.'

p. 96, l. 13. **playn and open trewthis reueled by god**. More's arguments from reason and scripture in defence of the doctrine of purgatory, as they are stated in the second book of the *Supplication* (*Works*, 313-39), may be briefly summarized as follows: (1) Since God of His righteousness will not leave sin unpunished, and of His goodness

will not perpetually punish the fault after the man's conversion, it follows that the punishment shall be temporal. (2) *Is.* xxxviii. The lamentations of King Hezekiah on being warned of his approaching death are explained by divers old doctors as due to his anticipation of the pains of purgatory. (3) *1 Reg.* ii, 6: '*Dominus . . . deducit ad inferos et reducit.*' More translates: 'Our Lord bringeth folk down into hell, and bringeth them thence again.' He argues that since the damned are never to be removed from hell, the text must refer to that part of hell that is called purgatory. (4) *Zach.* ix, 11. (5) *2 Mach.* xii, 43-6. This passage contains an account of sacrifice and prayers for the dead; Luther, to help out his attack on purgatory, denies this book a place in scripture. (6) *Apoc.* v, 13. If it be true that the damned do not praise God, then this passage must refer to the souls in purgatory. (7) *1 Jo.* v, 16: '*Est peccatum ad mortem, non pro illo dico, ut roget quis.*' (8) *Act.* ii, 24: '*quem Deus suscitavit, solutis doloribus inferni, juxta quod impossibile erat teneri illum ab eo.*' (9) The clause in the Apostles' Creed: '*descendit ad inferna.*' (10) *1 Cor.* iii, 10-15. (11) The truth of this doctrine is asserted by the Church and the Fathers of the Church. (12) Its truth is also attested by well accredited apparitions and revelations. (13) It is a safer belief than its opposite.

p. 96, l. 18. **euery good man . . . punyshe them.** This is a simplified account of the procedure against heretics. See the tabular statement in the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission, vol., i, pp. 54-69, in *Parliamentary Papers*, 1883, vol. xxiv; Makower, §19, pp. 183-90; and the note on p. 146, l. 24.

p. 97, l. 24. **what he wolde sholde be done**, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XLIII v^o) Saint-Germain declines to explain his views further, and suggests that More propose the question to great learned men.

p. 98, l. 15. **as Baynam . . . sayde**, etc. James Bainham first incurred suspicion, according to Foxe, by marrying the widow of Simon Fish. Whatever the cause may have been, Bainham was certainly accused of heresy to Sir Thomas More in 1531. After several examinations before Bishop Stokesley, he finally consented to make abjuration. Two months after the performance of the enjoined penance, however, he was found guilty of relapse, and burned at the stake.

Foxe's account (iv, 697-706) preserves some of the malicious statements that the heretics had begun to circulate about More as early as 1533. The statement that Bainham's last prayer was that the Lord might forgive Sir Thomas More, Foxe himself suppressed in the edition of 1570. But he allowed the following passage to remain (ed. 1563, p. 492): 'Then he caste him in pryson in his own house, and whipped him at the tree in his garden, called the tree of trothe, and after sent him to the tower to be racked and so was. Sir Thomas More being present till in a maner he had lamed hym, because he would not

accuse the Gentlemen of the temple of his acquaintance, nor would not shew where his bookes laye.'

It must be counted among the curiosities of religious prejudice that statements so palpably false should have been repeated so often. Even if we had no other light on this legend of torture, if More himself had not happened to hear, and indignantly deny, one of its earliest versions, it would be incredible that anyone who had the slightest familiarity with his character could fail instantly to reject such a story as impossible. Except for Dick Purser (p. 132 and note on p. 132, l. 25) and the mad vagabond (pp. 132-3 and note on p. 133, l. 12) More assures us that no one who was brought before him for heresy ever had so much as a fillip on the forehead (p. 133, l. 25). Bainham was brought before him for heresy. In rejecting Foxe's slander, Gairdner suggests that it is nothing but another version of the legend that Foxe included in his earliest account of Tewkesbury (notes on p. 105, l. 4 and p. 131, l. 19).

Froude quotes part of the final speech that Foxe in his first edition ascribed to Bainham, and fails to inform his readers that Foxe himself suppressed the passage after the first edition. (But see the last paragraph of the note on p. 131, l. 19.)

Bainham's verdict upon Bayfield may be gathered from his answer to the seventh of the articles with which he was charged. Foxe quotes the question and answer as follows (iv, 699):

'VII. Whether he knew any person that lived in the true faith of Christ, since the apostles' time?—He said he knew Bayfield, and thought that he died in the true faith of Christ.'

p. 98, l. 16. **Bayfelde bothe an heretyke and an apostata.** Richard Bayfield, alias Somersam, a monk of the Benedictine abbey of Bury St. Edmund's, entered the priesthood in 1518, and a few years later became chamberlain of the abbey. His case is summarized by More in his *Confutation (Works, 346)* as follows: 'Then have ye had here burned since, at London of late, Richard Bayfield, late a monk and a priest, which fell to heresy and was abjured, and after that . . . being fled over the sea, and sending from thence Tyndale's heresies hither with many mischievous sorts of books, had yet the King's gracious forgiveness, and—as it was after proved both by other men's and his own confession too—was occupied about two things at once, that is to wit, both in suing for remission and pardon of his offence for bringing in those books and therewith also in selling them here still secretly and sending over for mo—with which at last he was taken. And to rehearse his heresies needeth little; the books that he brought well showeth them, and his holy life well declareth them when, being both a priest and a monk, he went about two wives, one in Brabant, another in England. . . . Of Bayfield's burning hath Tyndale no great cause to glory. For though Tyndale's books brought him to burning, yet was he not so constant in his evangelical doctrine but that after that he was taken, all the while that he

was not in utter despair of pardon, he was well content to have forsworn it again, and letted not to utter his evangelical brethren both in England and elsewhere'.

In his account of Bayfield (iv, 680-8), Foxe transcribes the sentence, which includes a list of more than fifty titles of the above-mentioned 'mischievous sorts of books' that Bayfield had brought into England. Referring to the statements that have just been quoted from the *Confutation*, Foxe promises to defend Bayfield in a separate apology. I am not aware that he ever did so. See also *V. C. H., London*, i, 259.

p. 98, l. 20. **there is no soule they saye / but in some place of rest they lye styll and slepe full soundely / etc.** In his *Supplication* More traces this attack on purgatory to Luther's sermon on Dives and Lazarus, and represents the souls in purgatory as referring to this sermon in the following words (*Works*, 332): 'Now in this mad sermon of his he saith plainly that there is none at all [i.e., no purgatory], but that all souls lie still and sleep, and so sleep shall until the day of doom.'

Of Luther's two sermons upon this subject More apparently refers to the second, 'Von dem verdammtten reichen Mann, und dem seligen armen Lazaro'. It was first preached at Wittenberg in 1523, and was printed that same year. A reference to the text (*sämmtliche Werke*, xviii, 261) will show that More's statement needed some qualification. Grisar (iv, 504-5) in a brief summary of the changes in Luther's opinions on the doctrine of purgatory, finds his complete rejection of the doctrine in the year 1530.

p. 98, l. 31. **angelys of Sathan . . . angelys of lyght.** See 2 *Cor.* xi, 13-5.

p. 99, l. 32. **semeth to mysse like that order.** The summoning *ex officio* of heretics. For a brief statement about procedures *ex officio* see S. B. Smith, ii, 155-6.

p. 100, l. 1. **For he is in pryson in the towre all redy taken by the bishoppes seruauantes, by the ayde of the kynges offycers at commaundement of his grace and his counsaile.** This may be a fitting place in which to notice another of Foxe's unfortunate remarks about More. Speaking of Frith's final return to England, Foxe writes (v, 6): 'Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of sir Thomas More, who, at that time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.' It will scarcely be denied that, if More had been chancellor at the time, it would have been his duty to give orders for the arrest of a man who had broken the conditions of his earlier liberation, fled to the Continent, and published an attack upon the doctrine of purgatory. As a matter of fact More had resigned the Great Seal in the middle of May and retired to Chelsea

in such straitened circumstances that he was reduced to using fern for a brief nightly blaze in his household (Harpsfield, *Life*, 145). I have not found the date of Frith's arrest, but he did not return to England until July 25th, more than two months after More's resignation (Foxe, Pratt's ed., v, app., note on p. 5, l. 30, and Documents, No. XXII). That Frith was in the Tower by October 21st, and that he had not been there long, is evident from a note of that date from Walsingham to Cromwell (*L. & P.*, v, No. 1458).

p. 100, l. 21. **wryten a fresshe agaynste purgatory.** Frith's first attack upon the doctrine of purgatory has been briefly noticed in the Introduction. Rastell, at whom the second of its three books was aimed, replied in an *Apology*; and it is to Frith's answer to this *Apology* that More refers here. The title (*Works of Frith*, 60) is as follows: 'An other booke agaynst Rastell, named the subsedye or bulwarke to his first booke, made by Iohn Frithe prysoner in the Tower.' According to Foxe (v, 9) Rastell was completely convinced by this answer. See also Reed, *Early Tudor Drama*, pp. 21, 83, 108-12.

p. 100, l. 22. **the Mirrour agaynst religyouse, aduysyng euery man, etc.** This book—*A Mirror or Glass to Know Thyself*—is sufficiently, though not completely, characterized in More's phrase 'against religious'. In the passage that More appears to have in mind Frith is discoursing upon the text, 'Panis egentium vita pauperis est, qui autem defraudat eum homo sanguinis est.' [So Frith quotes it (*Works*, 87), giving the marginal reference '*Eccl.* 34'.] On the following page, by a somewhat literal application of the text, he makes the 'begging orders of friars' out to be thieves and murderers. Then he proceeds to give the advice to which More refers: 'But, dear brethren, maintain ye no such murtherers, lest ye be partakers of their sins.'

p. 100, l. 25. **twyse hath he . . . wryten agaynste the . . . blessed sacrament.** While Frith was a prisoner in the Tower one of his friends asked him his opinion about the sacrament of the altar. 'When I had sufficiently published my mind,' Frith tells us (107), 'he desired me to entitle the sum of my words, and write them for him, because they seemed overlong to be well retained in memory.' This first treatise is sufficiently summarized by Foxe (v, 6-7) and by Frith himself (107). A tailor, William Holt by name, procured a copy, and sent it to More, who at once answered it in his *Letter* (*Works*, 833-44), the shortest and kindest of his controversial works. Frith, having obtained a copy of the *Letter*, replied in a second treatise, which was printed on the Continent in 1533. That More had heard of this work before it actually appeared, and that he intended to reply to it we know from a passage in the *Apology* (p. 141); but the anonymous *Supper of the Lord* claimed his attention instead—perhaps because it reached him first, perhaps because it seemed to him more dangerous.

p. 100, l. 34. **whyche Fryth were lykely to breke and gete hym ouer see.** More is alluding to Frith's first flight, which has been noticed in the Introduction.

p. 100, l. 37. **Purser and . . . other were bounden for Iohan Byrt.** From Joye's words (quoted in the note on p. 132, l. 14) I infer that John Purser was the father of Dick Purser, the servant who was whipped at More's command for teaching heresy to another servant in his household. See also *Two London Chronicles*, 5. For Byrt see the note on p. 133, l. 24, and the reference in the note on p. 132, l. 17.

p. 101, l. 5. **after his new Titus & Timothe stablyshed, etc.** See 1 *Tim.* i, 2-3; and *Tit.* i, 6.

p. 101, l. 19. **yf he were one of thys pacyfyers polytykes, etc.** This passage gives a hint of the long *reductio ad absurdum* in ch. xlviii.

p. 102, l. 3. **both Tyndale and George Iay wryte vnto Fryth, etc.** I have not found a copy of Joye's letter. Two letters that Tyndale wrote to Frith during the latter's imprisonment have been printed repeatedly. The sentence that More apparently had in mind occurs in the first letter. See Foxe, v, 131-2, and cf. 133-4. ✓

p. 104, l. 19. **as frere Luther doth.** In June, 1525, Luther married Katharine von Bora, who had escaped, two years before, from the Cistercian convent of Nimbschen. McGiffert (273-304) gives an interesting account of their married life and of Katharine's character.

p. 104, l. 19. **& frere Lambert.** Francis Lambert, the monk of Avignon, married in July, 1523. According to Ruffet (47): 'Il publia dans son livre *sur le Mariage (de Sacro conjugio)* et dans son *Commentaire sur le Cantique des cantiques*, une éloquente apologie de la démarche qu'il se proposait.' Hassencamp (14) mentions another fact that may help to explain More's repeated references to this marriage: 'Lambert war der erster französische Mönch, welcher in die Ehe trat.'

p. 104, l. 20. **and frere Huyskyn.** Hagenbach (107) does not give the date of this marriage, but it must have taken place, as appears from his footnotes, between February, 1527, and March, 1528.

p. 104, l. 20. **and Otho the monke.** I have found no particulars about the marriage of Brunfelsius.

p. 105, l. 10. **I remember none delyuered to the seculare handes, but, etc.** The list that follows is certainly not complete. Gairdner *English Church*, 128-9; *Lollardy*, i, 392, n.) mentions the names of twelve persons who are known to have been burned for heresy in England during the years 1528-1533. Since two of these burnings occurred after the publication of the *Apology*, More's list should have contained at least ten names. The three that he has not remembered, according to Gairdner's lists, are those of Valentine Frese and his wife, and Davy Foster.

p. 105, l. 11. **syr Thomas Hytton at Maydestone.** In the *Confutation* (*Works*, 344-5) More writes at some length of Hitton. From this passage, much of which was printed with hostile comment by Charles Lamb (i, 203, 471-2), a few sentences may be quoted, as bearing upon one of the vexed questions of the controversy: '... so be these arch-heretics very glad, and great glory they take when they may hear that any man is brought to burning through their books. Then they boast that they have done a great mastery, and say they have made a martyr, when their poisoned books have killed the Christian man both in body and soul. Thus rejoiced Tyndale in the death of Hitton, of whose burning he boasteth in his answer to my *Dialogue*, where he writeth thereof that, where I said that I had never founden nor heard of any of them but that he would forswear to save his life, I had heard, he saith, of Sir Thomas Hitton, whom the Bishops of Rochester and Canterbury slew at Maidstone. Of this man they so highly rejoice that they have, as I said, set his name in the calendar before a book of their English prayers, by the name of Saint Thomas the Martyr. . . .'

After telling how Hitton had fallen from orthodoxy, More relates the circumstances of his arrest and the heresies for which he was condemned. See also the note on p. 127, l. 4; and Foxe, viii, 712-15.

p. 105, l. 12. **syr Thomas Bilney at Norwyche.** Thomas Bilney, one of the 'yong scolers, abiured of late', whom Skelton attacked in his *Replycacyon* (*Works*, 211), may be remembered as the 'little Bilney' who influenced Latimer, and to whom he refers with deep affection in his *Sermons* (pp. 191, 278). The question whether Bilney did or did not recant shortly before he was burned caused so much discussion that More in his *Dialogue* (*Works*, 207-8, 211 ff.) devoted considerable space to a summary of the case. Foxe, in his extensive treatment of the case (iv, 619-56), refused to accept the story of the final recantation; Gairdner (*English Church*, 129-30) regards the evidence in favour of it as 'perfectly clear'. More reviewed the case carefully a second time in his *Confutation*, from which the following passage is taken:

'Another is there also whom his [Tyndale's] unhappy books have brought unto the fire, Thomas Bilney, that was before abjured, which was the man of whom, without name, I spake so much in my *Dialogue*; which being convict by twenty witnesses and above, did yet stick still in his denial, and said they were all forsworn, and had utterly belied him. But God, which is very truth, and bringeth at last alway the truth to light, would not suffer such obstinate untruth at length to pass unpunished; but of His endless mercy brought his body to death, and gave him yet the grace to turn and save his soul. For so was it that after divers sermons which he had, after his abjuration, and against the prohibition given him upon his abjuration, made in sundry secret corners, and some also openly, whereof the Bishop yet, because he heard of none heresy therein, had forborne to lay the disobedience to his charge; he went

unto Norwich, where he had infected divers of the city before. And being there secretly kept by a certain space, had in the while resort unto & [*sic*] an anchoress, and there began secretly to sow his cockle, and brought unto her divers of Tyndale's books, and was there taken in the doing, and the books after founden about another man that was conveying them thence. And these things, whoso heard the whole process, came in such wise to pass that he could nothing doubt but that it came to light by the very provision of God. When he came to examination, he waxed stiff and stubborn in his opinions. But yet was God so good and gracious Lord unto him that he was finally so fully converted unto Christ and His true Catholic faith that not only at the fire, as well in words as writing, but also many days before, he had revoked, abhorred, and detested such heresies as he before had holden; which notwithstanding, there lacked not some that were very sorry for it, of whom some said, and some wrote out of Norwich to London, that he had not revoked his heresies at all, but still had abiden by them. And such as were not ashamed thus to say and write being afterward examined thereupon, saw the contrary so plainly proved in their faces by such as at his execution stood by him while he read his revocation himself, that they had in conclusion nothing else to say but that he read his revocation so softly that they could not hear it. Howbeit, they confessed that he looked upon a bill and read it, but they said that they could not tell whether it were the bill of his revocation or not. And yet rehearsed they themselves certain things spoken by him to the people at the fire, whereby they could not but perceive well that he revoked his errors, albeit that some of them watered his words with additions of their own, as it was well proved before them. They could not also deny but that forthwith upon his judgment and his degradation he kneeled down before the Bishop's chancellor in the presence of all the people, and humbly besought him of absolution from the sentence of excommunication, and with his judgment held himself well content, and knowledged that he had well deserved to suffer the death that he then wist he should. They could not say nay but that upon this his humble request and prayer he was there, in presence of all the people, assoiled before that he was carried out of the court; which themselves well wist would never have been but if he had revoked.

'Yet was there another thing that they could not deny—for albeit they said they were not thereat, yet they had heard it in such wise that, as they said, they believed it to be true—and that thing was such as itself alone must needs make them sure that he had revoked his heresies. The thing was this. He laboured and made great instance, certain days after his judgment, that he might be suffered to receive the blessed body of Christ in form of bread. Wherein the chancellor made a while great sticking and difficulty, to the intent that he would the better and more clearly perceive what devotion the man had thereto. And finally

perceiving him to be of a true, perfect faith, and his desire to proceed of a fervent mind, it was agreed and granted. (And thereupon was he houseled in so true, perfect faith and so great devotion that every good Christian man hath great cause to rejoice therein. And when his confessor in the end of the mass, which Bilney devoutly heard upon his knees, brought unto him the body of Christ upon the paten of the chalice, with very good and godly exhortation used unto him that, except he were in heart as he was in word and outward semblance, he should else forbear to receive that blessed body, sith he should then undoubtedly receive it on his own damnation; it would have gladdened any good Christian heart to have heard his faithful Christian answer, as they report and testify that were at that time by. Moreover whereas in the presence of that holy sacrament holden yet upon the paten in the priest's hands Bilney, before he received it, said the collect *Domine Iesu Christe*; when he came at these words, *ecclesie tue pacem et concordiam*, he divers times repeated those words with tunsions and knockings upon his breast, and there unto God confessed, and asked His mercy that he had so grievously erred in that point, and so sore offended Him in contemning His Church. And no marvel was it though he had a special remorse of that article. For the contemning of Christ's Catholic known Church, and the framing of a secret unknown church that he learned of Luther and Tyndale, was the very point that brought him unto all his mischief, as the very foundation whereupon all other heresies are builded.) (*Works*, 349-50.)

It is to this passage that Harpsfield refers in the following words (*Dialogi Sex*, 823): 'Atque hæc quidem contra Foxi narrationem, qui eum ad extremum spiritum errores constanter defendisse ait, Thomas ille Morus, quem omnis Europa suspicit & admiratur, diserte scripsit: cui nemo, credo, prudens est, qui non maiorem, quam Foxo fidem habebit.'

See also Gairdner's discussion of the case (*Lollardy*, i, 392-405).

p. 105, l. 12. **one of late at Excester.** Thomas Benet. See Foxe, v, 18-26.

p. 105, l. 13. **one of late in Lincolñ diocese.** The case of Thomas Harding, to whom More refers, is summarized by Gairdner in a passage that affords an interesting glimpse of Foxe's methods (*English Church*, 132).

p. 105, l. 14. **Teuxbery the powchmaker.** Foxe (ed. 1563, p. 486) states that Tewkesbury 'was sent . . . to my Lord Chauncellors called syr Thomas More . . . to see whether he coulede tourne him, and that he mighte accuse other, and there he laye in the porters lodge, hande, foote, and heade in the stockes vi. dayes wythout release. Then was he caried to Jesus tree in his priuy garden where he was whipped & also twisted in his browes wyth small ropes [cf. 134, ll. 11-21 above] that the

bloud started oute of his eies, and yet woulde not accuse no man. Than was he let lose in the house for a daye . . . after this he was sent to be racked in the towr, til he was almost lame, and there promised to recant at Paules cross'. This statement, which Foxe himself, as Gairdner puts it, 'had the grace to omit' in later editions, is one of the bases of the legend of torture that grew up during the sixteenth century. See the note on p. 131, l. 19.

In view of some of More's generalizations about the heretics with whom he had come in contact it may well to quote from the *Confutation* a few sentences from More's review of Tewkesbury's case (*Works*, 348):

'I hear also that Tyndale highly rejoiceth in the burning of Tewkesbury, but I can see no very great cause why, but if he reckon it for a great glory that the man did abide still by the stake when he was fast bounden to it. For as for the heresies, he would have abjured them again with all his heart, and have accused Tyndale too, if all that might have saved his life. And so he gave counsel unto one James that was for heresy in prison with him. For, as James hath since confessed, Tewkesbury said unto him: "Save you yourself, and abjure. But as for me, because I have abjured before, there is no remedy with me but death." By which words, if he had not been in despair of life, it well appeareth he would with good will have once abjured, and once perjured again.'

More proceeds to give a short account of Tewkesbury's examination, of the books found at his house, and of his desire to conceal his heresies. See also *V. C. H.*, *London*, i, 258-9.

p. 108, l. 21. I purpose not to medyll mych wythall, as are, etc. But More is drawn, however reluctantly, into some discussion and defence of these laws. See chapters xl.-xlvii. of the *Apology*.

p. 110, l. 3. the lyght of grace that is spoken of before,' be with you now & euer more amen. The end of the quotation is marked in the first edition by a change from the first to the second of the three founts shown in the plate facing p. 21. It is therefore somewhat surprising to find the Pacifier complaining in *Salem and Bizance* (fo. LXXVI) that More misquoted his words.

In the *Debellation* (*Works*, 1019-20) More points out that he had already quoted the entire passage accurately: 'As to that that he saith I changed his words in the end from these words, "the light of grace that is spoken of before, will not appear", into these words, "the light of grace that is spoken of before, be with you and ever more amen", therein he saith very true. For sith he was fallen into preaching, I not only in the first place rehearsed him as he spake himself, but afterward also in the second place I took the pain for him to mend his collation in that point, and make it end somewhat more like a sermon, with a good gracious prayer.'

p. 110, l. 14. **And veryly**, etc. The marginal note opposite this sentence in the 1557 ed. is as follows: 'In my Lorde Cardinal woloes daies.'

Saint-German opens the tenth chapter of *Salem and Bizance* by quoting from the word 'veryly' to the bottom of the page. The first sentence of his comment might easily be mistaken for a touch of humour: 'Thus far go the wordes of sir Tho. More: wherby ye may perceyue the good minde, that many pristes haue concernynge pompous apparel, whiche they haue worne out, & neuer entende to bye no more, wherin they be right moche to be commended.' On the last sentence on the page he proceeds to preach a sermon from the text, 'Iuge ye not, and ye shal not be iuged.'

p. 111, l. 9. **all their hole authoryte, or . . . in some parte.** In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. LXXX) Saint-German insists 'that the letter is pleyne inough, that it is only ment of suche auctorities, as they pretende to haue immediately of god.' And on the verso he illustrates his meaning further by adding: 'as in the ministracion of the sacramentes.'

In the *Debellation* (*Works*, 1023), after quoting the full explanation, More comments as follows:

'This is his own exposition of his own words, which he would have taken for so plain that he is angry with me that I could not spy it, and so satisfy myself before.

'Well, go to, now! Let us rehearse his own words again as himself for his own advantage (fo. LXXX) rehearseth them, and let us plant in his own exposition with them, to make his sentence the more clear, and then shall we see to what good conclusion he bringeth all in conclusion. For then cometh his whole tale to this:

'“As long as the spiritual rulers will pretend that their authority is so high and so immediately derived of God, in such things as they have their authority immediately of God indeed (as in the ministration of the sacraments and such other things like), that the people are bounden to obey them without argument or resistance; so long the light of grace will not appear.”'

p. 111, l. 20. **yf he meane . . . then hath thys pacyfyer loste the lyght of treuth.** In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. LXXXI) Saint-German complains as follows: 'For he taketh it, that I shuld doute, whether any part of the auctoritie of prelates be immediatly deriued of god. And surely . . . I doubt not of it, & that apperith by my wordis afore rehersed, wher I sey, that as longe as spiritual rulers wil pretend, that their auctoritie is so high, and so immediatly deriued of god, that the people are bounde to obey them with oute argumente or resistance. &c. By whiche wordes I confesse, that they haue auctoritie immediatly deriued fro god. But as I seid before . . . master More hath a right gret & a high inuentue wit, wherbi he can lightly turne a sentence after his appetite'.

More's comment on this curious explanation begins as follows: 'What high wit, or inventive, I have to turn a sentence, let the readers judge. But surely the height of my wit cannot reach so high as to perceive in those words the sentence that himself turneth them to, nor I trow no man else, till these words, "They have authority", and these words, "They pretend to have authority", be both one thing, which they were never yet.'

p. 112, l. 18. **And yf a prouyncyall counsaile erre/** etc. See Boudinhon, *Cath. Encyc.*, art. 'Provincial Council', and Lathbury, 127.

p. 112, l. 28. **thapostles . . . in theyr counsaile holden at Hierusalem.** See the opening passage in Lathbury's *Convocation*, and *Act. xv.*

p. 112, l. 37. **saynt Poule . . . whan he deuysed vnto the Corinthians,** etc. See I *Cor.* xi, xiv, and especially xiv, 37.

p. 113, l. 19. **the prelates.** More, having twice quoted carefully the larger part of this sentence, ventures to substitute 'prelates' for 'spiritual rulers' in this place, at the same time changing his verb of saying into a hypothetical future. The passage in the *Debellation (Works, 1020)* in which the Pacifier's complaint is cited shows the two men again in sharp contrast:

'Then goeth he forth, and in the same leaf and the next following, he maketh a suspicious matter, and cannot tell what mind I was of in changing his word "spiritual rulers" into this word "prelates". But look, good readers, upon the place, and you shall see that I did it of good cause. For I do not there say that he *saith* "prelates", but I say there that "peradventure" he *will* say so.

'And also, besides this that there is no very great difference between these words the "prelates" and the "spiritual rulers", the change . . . seemed me the more meet and more proper for the matter that the Pacifier speaketh in that place, where he speaketh of authority that they pretend, and obedience that they claim.

'Howbeit, rather than I would give any cause of division against me to him that useth to make great divisions upon small grounds, I shall be content to give him his own word again. And therefore, I pray you, good readers, every of you mend your books, and in the stead of "prelates" in that place put in "spiritual rulers". . . .

'But yet to make me sorry that ever I was so far overseen as to take away his gay, golken [golden? cf. 'gaye golden dystynccyon', p. 42, ll. 3-4 above] word of "spiritual rulers" from him, he beginneth as it were with a great threat, and saith:

"What Master More meaneth to change these words 'spiritual rulers' into 'prelates', I cannot tell. But now by occasion of the words that Master More hath spoken, I will say further in the matter than I had thought to have done."

'How happy was I, lo, that I had not the grace to let his own word stand! For now will he say further in the matter than ever he had thought to have done.'

p. 114, l. 2. **good tender pernell.** The *N. E. D.*, quoting this passage, explains *pernell* as a variant of *parnel*, which meant a wanton young woman, and was applied in ridicule to an effeminate man. In all three examples there given, the word is preceded by *tender*.

p. 114, l. 5. **the prest hadde on good frydaye wyth the dyspelynge rodde,** etc. See Rock (vol. III, pt. ii, 241), who quotes the present passage.

p. 114, l. 11. **as Tyndale iesteth starch in stede of brede.** Compare the following passage from Tyndale's *Answer* (iii, 179): 'The pope thinketh that if they should be too busy in handling it [the Blessed Sacrament], they would believe that there were bread; and for that cause, to strength their faiths, he hath imagined little pretty thin manchets that shine through, and seem more like to be made of paper, or fine parchment, than of wheat flour. About which was no small question in Oxford of late days, whether it were bread or none; some affirming that the flour, with long lying in water, was turned to starch, and had lost its nature.'

p. 116, l. 7. **nor fully so long in doynge, as yt is in the chartrehouse.** In the Charterhouse, famous for the strictness of its discipline, More spent four years of his youth—as Roper says (205), 'religiouslye lyvinge ther without vowe.'

p. 116, l. 28. **the counsayle of Cryst . . . those other wordes of Cryst.** See *Mat.* vi, 3 and 6.

p. 117, l. 13. **so many poore folke at westmynster at the dolys.** See Rock (vol. III, pt. i, 36-9), who cites the present passage.

p. 118, l. 2. **honest fyndynge & good bryngynge vp of so many temporall men in theyr seruyce.** In emphasizing the value of this practice More must have recalled his own happy experience when, as a boy, he was taken into the household of Cardinal Morton. The reverence that he felt for the Cardinal is reflected in a well-known passage in the *Utopia* (Robynson's trans., pp. 33-4).

p. 118, l. 21. **Then foloweth there fastynge/ etc.** Saint-German having asked, in *Salem and Bizance*, why More in this chapter made so great a matter of fasting, More replied in the *Debellation* (*Works*, 1030) as follows: 'Whoso list to read the chapter shall see that I wrote it not all in vain, nor show myself unwilling that the priests should do it neither, though they be not bounden to it. But the less that the weight of the matter was, the more cause this man gave me to speak thereof. For the more was he to blame to put that, and other such small matters as that is, for causes of so great a division as he surmiseth that this is.

This was, lo, the cause that made me to speak thereof; which cause this man gave himself, and therefore needeth not to marvel as he doth wherefore I spake thereof.'

p. 118, l. 25. **and reherseth oute of Iohan Gerson**, etc. Compare the seventeenth item in the quotation from Gerson's *Declaratio*, in the note on p. 66, l. 26.

p. 118, l. 28. **And wolde god as sanyte Poule sayth**, etc. See 2 *Cor.* vi, 3-5.

p. 119, l. 2. **as saynte Austayne sheweth in mo places then one**. Compare the following passage from the *Epistolarum Classis II, Epist. XXXVI, Cap. XI* (Migne, *P. L.*, XXXIII, 148): '*Verumtamen in hujus sabbati jejunio sive prandio, nihil mihi videtur tutius pacatiusque servari, quam ut qui manducat, non manducantem non spernat, et qui non manducat, manducantem non judicet; quia neque si manducaverimus abundabimus, neque si non manducaverimus egebimus (Rom. xiv, 3): custodita scilicet eorum inter quos vivimus, et cum quibus Deo vivimus, in his rebus inoffensa societate.*'

In chap. xiv of the same Epistle (p. 151) Saint Augustine tells a story of his own early perplexities in the matter, and quotes the advice of the venerable Ambrosius, the bishop who baptized him, as follows: '*Quando hic sum, non jejuno sabbato; quando Romæ sum, jejuno sabbato: et ad quamcumque Ecclesiam veneritis, inquit, ejus morem servate, si pati scandalum non vultis aut facere.*'

Again, in the *Ad Inquisitiones Januarii Liber Primus* (ibid., p. 201), after repeating the same story, Saint Augustine adds the following comment on the Bishop's advice: '*Ego vero de hac sententia etiam atque etiam cogitans, ita semper habui, tanquam eam cœlesti oraculo acceperim.*'

p. 119, l. 9. **to say in lent . . . ex fictione iuris**, etc. The Most Reverend Paschal Robinson has very kindly furnished me with the following explanation:

With regard to the concession of which More speaks in this passage it may be recalled that in the early Middle Ages Lent, throughout the greater part of the Western Church, consisted of forty week days, which were all fast days, and of six Sundays, which were *not* fast days. On all the fast days of Lent only one meal was allowed, and this single meal was not permitted until after the *evening* service, namely, Vespers, or Evensong. Now the hour for this evening service varied according to the sunset hour, but, during Lent, Vespers (or Evensong) were usually recited about 4 p.m. Towards the close of the eighth century, however, the practice began to be introduced of anticipating the recitation of Vespers by one or two hours (i.e., at three or even two o'clock, p.m.); and, by a gradual process of anticipation, the hour for saying Vespers (Evensong) was more and more advanced

until the thirteenth century, when the principle was at last officially recognized (as it is at present) that *during Lent* Vespers (Evensong) may be said daily, Sundays excepted, at midday instead of waiting until sunset. This gradual anticipation of the hour of dinner on fast days was facilitated by the fact that the canonical hour of Vespers (Evensong) represented (like the other canonical hours of the Liturgy) rather a period than a fixed point of time, and also by the explanation that the old prohibition 'not to eat before evening' (*ante vesperam*) meant simply that the fast was not to be broken before the Vesper-office (Evensong) had been recited. Such, in outline, is the origin, according to the best authorities, of the concession to which More refers in his remarks on fasting, in the *Apology*.

As regards the 'natural days' of which he speaks in this connection, these days were reckoned from midnight to midnight; but, in addition to the *natural* day, there were also during the Middle Ages liturgical days, which were reckoned from sunset to sunset, or rather from Vespers (Evensong) to Vespers (Evensong). When, therefore, More says, in the sentence under consideration, that the Church 'hath been fain . . . beside the natural days, to devise us new days *ex fictione iuris*' he doubtless means to say that by advancing the hour for the recitation of Vespers from sunset to midday, the evening was *fictitiously* made to begin at noon instead of at sundown. In this way, and, as it were, by a legal fiction, new *liturgical* days were devised, which, instead of beginning at sundown (as was the case with all liturgical days on which there was no fast), began at noon.

This seems to me, at least, to be the explanation of the troublesome sentence in question. In the second half of this sentence More is merely restating *in another way* what he had said in the first half, namely, that the Church, to condescend unto our infirmity, hath been fain, therefore, to say in Lent their Evensong before noon; and *thus* 'beside the natural days,' etc.

For further discussion and bibliography Father Robinson suggests the following references: Herder's *Kirchen-Lexicon*, IV, 1265 ff.; and the *Catholic Encyclopedia*, IX, 153 ff.

p. 120, l. 7. *for then sholde yt not pryck them.* We may catch in these words an unintended hint of the constant discomfort that More knew from his own experience. So, too, in his anxiety to conceal the fact that he wore a shirt of hair cloth (Roper, 234) we may see an obedience to those words of Christ that he has already quoted (116, above) in answer to the Pacifier's complaints. This note would be inadequate without at least a reference to the simple words of the Carthusian who had been More's confessor. See the letter first printed by Gairdner in 1892 (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, vii, 713-14).

p. 120, l. 23. *of whyche two kyndes of lyeng saynt Austayn admytteth neyther.* More seems to refer to the following passage from

the *Enar. in Psal. v* (Migne, *P. L.*, xxxvi, 86): 'Duo sunt omnino genera mendaciorum in quibus non magna culpa est, sed tamen non sunt sine culpa, cum aut jocamur, aut ut prosimus mentimur. Illud primum in jocando, ideo non est perniciosissimum quia non fallit; novit enim ille cui dicitur, joci causa esse dictum. Secundum autem ideo mitius est, quia retinet nonnullam benevolentiam.'

p. 122, l. 8. **haue sayed that oure spyrytualtye**, etc. Compare the following passage from the third book of the *Dialogue* (*Works*, 225): 'But yet where ye speak of other countries, making an argument that our clergy is the worst of all other, I wot well the whole world is so wretched that spiritual and temporal everywhere all be bad enough, God make us all better! But yet for that I have myself seen, and by credible folk have heard, like as ye say by our temporalty that we be as good and as honest as anywhere else, so dare I boldly say that the spirituality of England—and specially that part in which ye find most fault, that is to wit, that part which we commonly call the secular clergy—is in learning and honest living well able to match, and (saving the comparisons be odious) I would say further, far able to overmatch, number for number, the spirituality of any nation Christian. I wot well there be therein many very lewd and naught. And surely wheresoever there is a multitude it is not without miracle well possible to be otherwise.'

p. 123, l. 3. **ceace to call vppon god for strength**, etc. For the scriptural references in this sentence see *Is.* viii, 12-13; *Luc.* xii, 4, 5; *Apoc.* ii, 5.

p. 125, l. 16. **For fyrste he sayth as of hym selfe**, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XXXVI v^o) Saint-Germain admits that More has previously quoted his words correctly (p. 107, l. 10; p. 124, l. 21), but denies that More is justified in asserting that the words are an expression of Saint-Germain's own opinion. In explaining his meaning he omits the *therefore* upon which More had pounced.

p. 125, l. 37. **fishe before the nette, and set the carte before the horse**. Heywood quotes both of these sayings (pt. I, p. 38; pt. II, p. 79).

p. 127, l. 4. **syr Thomas Hytton that was waxen a ioynour**, etc. To the note on p. 105, l. 11, may be added the following extract from More's account of Hitton's examination (*Works*, 345): 'He would not be knownen that himself was priest, but said that he had by the space of nine years been beyond the sea, and there lived by the joiner's craft. Howbeit, he said that he had alway, as his leisure would give him leave . . . taught the gospel of God after his own mind and opinion, not forcing of the determination of the Church, and said that he intended to his power so to persevere still. Of his teaching, these things were part. . . . The mass, he said, should never be said. For he said that to say mass after the manner of the Church is rather sin than virtue.'

p. 127, l. 7. **Bloufelde thapostata that was abiured in London.** I have not found any details of this case. [Foxye (v, 28) has merely the following entry: 'William Blomfield, Monk of Bury. Abjured for the like causes.' From the preceding cases one might infer that the like causes included protests against praying to saints, going on pilgrimages, and auricular confession, and very possibly some heresy with regard to the mass.

p. 127, l. 10. **Bayfelde the monk and apostata.** The case of Bayfield has been noticed in the note on p. 98, l. 16. From the five references in the *Apology* it is evident that More had been especially interested in it—perhaps partly because the question of the importation of heretical books was involved.

p. 129, l. 35. **Lyncoln, as great a dyocese as yt is,** etc. When More wrote this sentence the diocese of Lincoln included the shires of Lincoln, Leicester, Rutland, Northampton, Oxford, Buckingham, and Bedford. Within the next ten years Henry had created out of it the new bishoprics of Peterborough and Oxford. See the map at the end of Gairdner's *English Church*, and Gasquet's *Henry VIII. and the English Monasteries*, pp. 444-6.

p. 129, l. 38. **about a tenne yere a go to my remembraunce,** etc. Foxe (iv, 221-44) prints 'A table, describing the grievous afflictions of good men and women in the diocese of Lincoln, under John Longland the Bishop; with the names both of the accusers, and of them that were accused: also with the crimes to them objected: out of the registers of the said diocese, A.D. 1521.' He gives a great number of names of persons detected of heresy, and a list of fifty heretics who abjured. The towns most conspicuous in these lists are Hichenden, East Hendred, and Burford. Both Foxe (iv, 241) and Wilkins (iii, 698) print a letter published in this year by the King in which he takes notice of the spread of heresy in the diocese of Lincoln, and orders all mayors, sheriffs, bailiffs, constables, and other officers to assist in repressing it.

p. 131, l. 19. **Dyuers of them haue sayd that . . . I vsed to examyne them wyth turmentes, causynge them to be bounden to a tre in my gardyn,** etc. More's consideration of malicious falsehoods that heretics were circulating about him in his own day (p. 131, l. 16 to p. 135, l. 37, above) is one of the most important passages in the *Apology*. The comment of Sir James Mackintosh, calling attention to the fact that More's indignant denial was published at a time when the slightest inaccuracy was certain to be challenged, has been quoted in the Introduction—for the benefit of whoever may feel that More's word is in need of any circumstantial corroboration.

It is clear enough that More is dealing in this chapter with the material of a legend in the process of formation. Of the 'many marvellous lies' that the brethren were beginning to circulate about him he

selects an extreme example. This story he had heard in two versions. According to the original version Segar, a bookseller of Cambridge, after having been tied to a tree in More's garden and piteously beaten, was bound about the head with a cord and 'wrung' until he fell down in a swoon. The Tyndale version added to these details an item to the effect that More had stolen Segar's purse. (If More regarded Tyndale as the inventor of this item, as may perhaps be inferred from the passage [p. 134, l. 22], his suspicion was not entirely unnatural [note on p. 52, l. 6].) The version that Foxe printed in his first account of Tewksbury (note on p. 105, l. 14) includes the details of the tree in More's garden, the whipping, and the wringing of the brows 'wyth small ropes'. The swoon here gives way to the more graphic touch 'that the bloud started oute of his eies'. The stolen purse is forgotten, but a more serious charge makes its first appearance when we read that 'he was sent to be racked in the towr, til he was almost lame'. In the edition of 1570 Foxe withdrew all these charges about More's treatment of Tewkesbury, and some of the impossible statements that had discredited his first account of Bainham. But unfortunately he retained in the account of Bainham a final version of the legend. Both the theft of the purse and the wringing of the brows have now disappeared; but the tree in More's garden and the whipping remain, and the racking at the Tower, which had made Tewkesbury 'almost lame', is now said to have lamed Bainham 'in a maner' (note on p. 98, l. 15). The final touch may be discerned in the phrase 'Sir Thomas More being present'. Since Foxe failed to cancel the entire passage we may be grateful for this final touch, which effectually prevents any attempt to exclude the Bainham case from More's denial.

The persistence of slander about More must be attributed in part to the curious policy of the modern editors of Foxe—a policy that has restored to the text, *without differentiation in type*, the passages that Foxe himself suppressed. Inconspicuous pairs of asterisks, it is true, refer the attentive reader to footnotes in which, if his eyesight is good, he may learn that the enclosed passages are from the edition of 1563. It is useless to speculate on the number of readers who notice these footnotes, or the smaller number who grasp their real significance; but it is obvious enough that when a pair of asterisks is separated by some six or seven hundred words it ceases to have much practical value. A hurried reader might conceivably find a reference inside these limits without actually chancing upon either asterisk. Such a theory, at least, is the most charitable explanation I can offer of a certain passage in Froude (fourth paragraph of the note on p. 98, l. 15).

p. 132, l. 14. **George Iaye** or **Gee** otherwyse called **Clerke**, . . . **wedded in Antwarpe**. George Joye, whose aliases also included Geach, is attacked in the *Confutation* (*Works*, 341) as the author of a 'godly epistle' in which he maintains that vows of chastity 'can bind no

man in conscience, but he may wed when he will', and also as a priest who had put this theory into practice. Lee, in fact (*D. N. B.*, art. *Joye*), cites this passage as authority for Joye's marriage.

In 1534 Joye published his *Subversion of More's False Foundation*, the tone of which may be inferred from the fact that More is described on the title page as a 'vayne lyer' and a 'starke foole'. The book is devoted chiefly to an attack upon More's argument for the 'unwritten verities'.

The following passage (folios li, lij) meets with a flat denial two of the charges that More makes on p. 132: '. . . but firste I muste pource my self with a breife Apologye frome a cowple of lyes that More maketh of me in the hondred and xcvi. leif of his longe Apologye. saynge that I taught pursers sonne attendinge vpon me at London . viij . or . ix . dayes/ my vngracious heresy es agenst the sacrament of the auter/ And that two nonnis were brought into my howse at Anwerpe: Whom Iohan Burte (sai the he) stale owte of their cloyster to make harlets. But the nonnes sayd playnely and yet affirme it that they came forthe leste they shulde haue bene made harlets in the cloister by a vyciouse Prieste called Syr Iohan Larke. . . . Neither came these nonnis then vnto my howse in Antwerpe I take God to recorde. And as for dicke purser/ verly the chylde laye withe me that lytell whyle and fetched me meat/ whome I taught to saye by herte his Pater Noster/ Aue. And Credo yn Englysshe/ withe the two Prayers folowyng in the Ortulus Anime/ to saye them in the morninge and euenyng/ and this/ yn good faith/ was all the Herysye that I tawght him.' I had ben an vndiscreit Maister so sodenly in so lytell space to haue taken forthe the chylde owte of his Pater Noster vnto the Sacrament of the Auter/ seynge the chylde was not yet of so full age as to come vnto Goddis borde: but this lowde lye/ his M. More souked owt of the boyes botockis to fede his affectis when he whipped him naked tayed vnto the tree of his trowthe. And as for my goodly Godly Pistle whiche he remembreth in his confutacion and belyeth me therto/ I knowe none syche/ excepte he meane my answeere vnto the priour of Newnnahms goodly Godly Pistle sente vnto his reuerent Father then bisshope of Lyncolne called (I trowe) bisshope langley.' See S. R. Maitland (3-9) for further material about Joye and some doubts about the reliability of his statements.

p. 132, l. 17. Byrt . . . called Adryan stale out of theyr closter, etc. The affair to which More refers is described in a lively passage in the eighth book of the *Confutation* (*Works*, 769).

p. 132, l. 19. hys vngracyouse heresy agaynst the blessed sacrament of the autler. This heresy does not appear in Joye's *Answer* as one of the four opinions of which he was accused by the Prior of Newnham. It may be found, of course, in the anonymous *Supper of the Lord*, which has occasionally been attributed to Joye, and it appears

later in the following passage, based upon Melancthon, from Joye's *Exposition of Daniel*: 'But the supper of the Lorde haue they prophaned & polluted most horribly with many errours. For these antichristes fayn a transubstantion, . . .' (reverse of the next to the last leaf of signature DD).

p. 132, l. 24. I caused a seruaunt of myne to strype hym lyke a chyld before myne houshold. From the note on p. 132, l. 14, it is apparent that the boy who was thus punished was Dick Purser, the son of the John Purser who is mentioned (p. 100, l. 37) as one of the men who furnished bond for John Byrt.

Probably few readers will object that the punishment was too severe if they recall the terrible penalties prescribed by the statutes for the suppression of heresy. It is clear that the boy was whipped, not for holding heretical opinions, but for teaching them to another boy in More's house; and Professor Chambers (*Saga*, 16) has called attention to More's obligations to orthodox parents whose sons had been received into his household.

p. 133, l. 12. to be taken . . . and bounden . . . byfore the whole towne, etc. More's account shows that this vagabond was flogged, not for heresy, but for the indecent annoyance of women who were kneeling at their devotions. In other words More was suppressing what may be called a public nuisance, and it may be worth emphasizing that he did so publicly—'byfore the whole towne'.

p. 133, l. 24. George constantyne. According to Strype (vol. I, pt. ii, p. 63) Constantine was implicated in the confession of Robert Necton in 1528, and fled to the Continent. Returning to England two or three years later in an attempt to import prohibited books, he was arrested and turned informer. Foxe (iv, 671) tells the well-known story of his examination before More, in which Constantine stated that the man who had helped the heretics most was Bishop Tunstall, who in his endeavour to buy up every copy of Tyndale's translation of the New Testament had supplied them with ready money. The following selections are taken from a long passage in the *Confutation (Works, 346-8)*—a passage that must have been written shortly after Constantine's escape from custody about the end of November, 1531: 'And thus it seemed by the manner of George Constantine while he was here in prison that he so sore did forthink his errors and heresies, and so perceived the pestilent poison of them, that he thought it better that such as were infect therewith might be by the mean of his detection amended . . . This good mind it seemeth that Constantine had then; and therefore was there good hope of his amendment. And peradventure the man had amended and standen still in grace if some evil counsel had not comen at him; of which there was left unsought no devilish invention or mean to send him, insomuch that one of the

letters I fortun'd to intercept myself, written unto him by one John Byrt, otherwise calling himself Adrian, otherwise John Bookbinder, and yet otherwise now I cannot tell you what! Of truth George Constantine, after he had confessed unto a faithful servant of mine, to be declared to me, that Necton had of his delivery many of those heretical books, he send word forthwith to Necton that he should send the books home to me.'

More goes carefully into the details of the case, telling how Necton, whose activities in selling heretical books were well known, consulted with Byrt, and how they decided to answer that the books could not be returned; and proceeds to quote from a letter in which Byrt urged Constantine to recall his confession if possible. Constantine himself, More continues, 'seemed in prison here very penitent, and utterly minded to forsake such heresies and heretics for ever. In proof whereof he not only detected, as I said, his own deeds and his fellows, but also studied and devised how those devilish books which himself and other of his fellows had brought and shipped might come to the Bishop's hands to be burned. And therefore he showed me the shipman's name that had them, and the marks of the fardels, by which I have since his escape received them. And it may be, by God's grace, that though the man fled hence for fear of such harm as he wist he had well deserved—and yet was nothing toward him, but peradventure more good than he was ware of—he is yet amended in his mind, and hath in his heart forsaken all Tyndale's heresies; and so I pray God it be, for I would be sorry that ever Tyndale should glory and boast of his burning.'

A glimpse of Constantine's later life may be caught from a 'Transcript of an original Manuscript' printed by Amyot in *Archæologia* (xxiii, 50-78). Though we may share Amyot's suspicions of Constantine's penitence—and More himself seems none too confident about it—Amyot was obviously wrong in conjecturing that Constantine's disclosures were 'fictitious'.

p. 134, l. 13. **Segar a boke seller of Cambrydge.** Of Segar I have found no other mention, unless he is the John Segar who was noted eight years later according to Foxe (v, 445) among several 'despisers of auricular confession'. His lies, as narrated by More, may have been the origin of the legend of torture that Foxe included in the earliest version of his account of Tewkesbury (iv, 689).

p. 136, l. 2. **Symondes a long well knowen heretyke walkynge about the realme.** In a list of persons detected of heresy during the years 1518-21 Foxe (iv, 240) mentions a John Simonds and his wife, of Great Marlow. A John Simonds was also accused of heresy to the Bishop of Lincoln in 1530 (*ibid.*, 584).

p. 136, l. 28. **had sene hym syns . . . at Antwarpe.** The following sentence occurs in a letter from Vaughan to Cromwell quoted by

Anderson (i, 312-3), and by Demaus (330): 'George Constantine came to Anwerp, after his breaking from my Lord Chancellor, the vi. day of December.' This was in 1531.

p. 137, l. 2. **the chauncellour of London.** Dr. Foxford. See the note on p. 138, l. 16.

p. 137, l. 12. **Fryth labored so sore . . . agaynst the blessed sacrament.** See pp. 140-41 above, and the note on p. 100, l. 25.

p. 138, l. 16. **hys mylde mynde and very tender dealynge.** Foxe speaks of Dr. Foxford as 'that great persecutor', and again as 'a cruel persecutor, and a common butcher of the good saints of God'. On the occasion of the Chancellor's death Foxe's credulity is worthy of notice. Of Foxford's 'terrible end' he writes (v, 64) that 'it was then certainly reported and affirmed by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons of whom some be yet alive, that he died suddenly sitting in his chair, his belly being burst, and his entrails falling out before him.' The marginal note reads: 'The terrible hand of God upon Foxford.'

After reading such comments one is inclined to discount Foxe's allegations of cruelty and persecution. Indeed from his own pages the truth of More's description of the Chancellor may be inferred. It is evident (iv, 36-9; v, 701) that Foxford showed considerable forbearance toward the heretics who were brought before him, arguing with them at length, and using 'great persuasions'. The fact that many of the cases of heresy in the diocese were tried before him, and that some of them were cases of relapse, sufficiently explains Foxe's attitude.

p. 139, l. 37. **fatherly fauour towarde the yonge mannys amende-ment.** Foxe, who refers briefly to this interview (v, 11), is far from hinting at any 'fatherly favour'. But see Gairdner's quotations (*Lol-lardy*, i, 405-11) from Germain Gardiner's *Letter*.

The fact that Frith as a boy had served in Bishop Gardiner's household seems to have escaped the attention of most of Frith's biographers.

p. 141, l. 1. **deuylyshe bokes of wyclefe, Swynglius, & frere Huyskyn.** Wycliffe's *Wicket*, a short exposition upon the text *Hoc est corpus meum*, appears to have been studied closely by both Tyndale and Frith. In his *Letter* More had asserted that Frith 'teacheth in a few leaves all the poison that Wycliffe, Heussgen, Tyndale, and Zwinglius have taught in all their books before'. For Frith's reply see his *Works*, 116-18.

p. 141, l. 17. **as I am very certaynly enfourmed, not agaynste me by name, but all agaynste my sayde lorde.** Unless we make the improbable assumption that Frith practically rewrote his second treatise on the Eucharist, we must conclude that More was very certainly misinformed. Frith acknowledges in his preface that Bishop Gardiner had showed him More's *Letter*, and indeed the whole treatise (*Works*, 107-69) is definitely aimed at More.

p. 142, l. 6. Thomas Philippis of London letherseller nowe prysoner in the towre. Before considering the case of Philips we may glance at that of John Petite, which occurred at the same time; for the two cases present certain similar features. (The information that we have about the Petite case was derived from Petite's wife, transmitted to Foxe by Archdeacon Louthe, and printed by Nichols in his *Narratives of the . . . Reformation* (25-8). According to this document Petite was for twenty years 'burgesse for the cyty of London' and so influential that 'King Henry 8. wolde axe in the parlamente tyme, in hys waighty affayres, yf Petite wer of his syde'. As a matter of fact Petite appears to have been elected to parliament for the first time in October, 1529 (Beaven, 274, and cf. 288; *L. & P.*, vol. IV, pt. iii, No. 6043, p. 2691, item ii; and Nichols, 295)—little more than three years before his death. 'This burges', the document states, 'was sore suspected of the lord chawncelor and the prelacy of this realme, that he was a fawtore of the relegione that they called newe, and also a bearer with them in prynting of theyr bookes.' That the first of these suspicions was justified is evident from the later statement that Petite was constantly aiding 'poore prechers, suche as then wer on this syde the say and beyonde the say'.

It appears that, on receipt of information that Petite had prohibited books in his possession, More caused his arrest and at the same time made a personal investigation at Petite's house. No heretical books were found, but a copy of the prohibited translation of the New Testament was actually lying under Petite's desk, and he prevented its discovery by an equivocation. 'After longe sute and dayly teares of his wyff Lucy Petite, she obeyned license to send hym in a bedd, and that he myght be broght to his aunswere'. It seems fairly clear that the permission 'to send hym in a bedd' was granted before Petite became ill—perhaps as a courtesy to an influential citizen, who was scarcely used to a 'padd of strawe'. When Petite was 'brought to his aunswere', we are told that 'they hadd gotten a lytle old preest that should say he hadd Tyndale's testamente in Englyshe, and dyd helpe hym and suche other to publyshe theyre heretycall bookes in Englyshe. . . . But now at laste when mr. Petite hadd caght hys dethe by so nawghty harbor of the lord chauncelor, he was called openly, and the preeste that should have accused hym, axed mr. Petite forgyvenes, saying, "Mr. Petite, I never saw yow afore this tyme; how should I then be able to accuse you?"' Petite was then 'suffered to go whome, but he dyed immediatly aftere apone the same yll harborowe.' It is indeed a sad story; but it can scarcely be said to reflect discredit upon More. Though the dates of Petite's trial and death are not known, his will, according to Nichols (296), was proved on Jan. 24th, 1532-3. Presumably, therefore, his last illness occurred more than a half year after More had resigned the Great Seal.

The document represents Petite as a friend of both Bilney and Frith, and discloses some interesting details of the prison life of these two men. We are told that Petite was in prison with Bilney, whose cell was just above his, and that 'his keeper one Philippes' used to remove a board so that the two prisoners might dine and sup together. Some fifteen months later the 'same underkeeper' granted even greater privileges to Frith, allowing him to leave the Tower by night 'to consulte with godly men'; and we learn that he then visited Petite in the latter's home.

These references suggest a certain difficulty about the date of Petite's imprisonment, and it must be admitted that the published statements upon the subject have been contradictory. Bickley (*D. N. B.*, art., *Frith*) asserts that Frith during his imprisonment in the Tower was allowed 'to stay at the house of Petite, a wealthy merchant and member of parliament, who was subsequently imprisoned for favouring the views of the reformers.' This statement is irreconcilable with our document, and it is clear that the *subsequently* must be wrong if Petite was in prison with either Bilney or Frith, or if More had any connection with the case. In the appendix of Pratt's edition of Foxe (iv, 775) a chronological difficulty is recognized, and the conjecture is hazarded that there may be an error in the name Bilney. Such an error, I must confess, does not seem to me very probable; for Bilney's case must have been followed with anxious interest in Petite's household. One source of difficulty—and possibly of the error in the *D. N. B.*—is revealed in the same note when Pratt cites Strype's version of the document. Strype (vol. I, pt. i, p. 313) quotes the beginning of one sentence as follows: 'And before this, when John Frith was in the Tower', etc.; Nichols (27) quotes the passage: 'When John Frith was in the Tower', etc. The latter is the reading of the manuscript (Harl. 425, fol. 138 v°). Strype does not quote the whole document consecutively. I suspect that the words 'And before this' were a label for his own convenience, that they referred to the order in which the events were *mentioned*, and that they were incorporated by mistake as part of the quotation. In this context they may have been hastily taken as implying that Frith's imprisonment was prior to Petite's.

Three of the assertions about Petite deserve careful attention: (1) He was in prison with Bilney, i.e., in 1531, and certainly before August 19th of that year. (Of the two dates given by Foxe for the burning of Bilney, March 10th and August 19th, Gairdner [*Lollardy*, i, 393] accepts the former on the strength of *L. & P.*, v, No. 372; but the latter is confirmed by *Two London Chronicles*, 5.) (2) He died immediately upon being sent home after his trial. (3) He was visited in his own home by Frith during the latter's imprisonment in the Tower, i.e., presumably not before October, 1532 (see the last reference in the note on p. 100, l. 1), and probably a month or two later. If all three of these assertions are correct, Petite must have lain in prison for some fifteen

months awaiting trial, and must have been visited immediately after, as he was dying, by Frith. It is not easy to believe that a member of parliament should have been kept in prison for fifteen months—and especially for those particular fifteen months—before being brought to trial. And the sentence about Frith's visit does not tell us that Petite was then dying. One error has been shown, and one or two others have been suspected, in the document. Perhaps the words *immediatly aftere* are used very loosely.

In a sentence that is somewhat typical of the unfortunate page on which it occurs Lee (*D. N. B.*, art. *More*, p. 436) writes: 'He [More] is known to have personally searched the house of John Petit, a friend of his in the city, and committed him to prison, where he soon died, before any distinct charge had been formulated against him.' In support of this statement he cites the document that we have been considering. I submit that that document does not justify the words *friend* or *soon*, that it shows that Petite was charged with having Tyndale's New Testament in his possession (as he undoubtedly did have), and that it proves that Petite did not die in prison—in fact, that after his release he was visited in his own home by Frith. On the charge that has been mentioned Petite might have been prosecuted in either a secular, or an ecclesiastical, court. Though I find no evidence on the question, one or two of the phrases that I have quoted might be taken to point vaguely toward the latter as the actual place of prosecution. Such an inference would become practically a certainty if we could identify our John Petite with the 'John Petit alias Petye' who is mentioned by Foxe (iv, 586) in a list of those who were forced to abjure. Nichols (296) cites the reference, but without comment; and I must confess that the identification seems very doubtful.

Where the case was tried, how much actual evidence was available, or whether Petite's illness was a factor in the dismissal of the charges, it is impossible to say. Indeed the most astonishing—not to say suspicious—fact about the case is the lack of reference to it. That Petite's wife should have blamed the Chancellor for her husband's 'yll harborowe'—wherever the actual prosecution took place—is intelligible enough if More ordered the arrest, or if he was responsible for the fact that Petite was imprisoned in the Tower rather than the bishop's prison.

For the documents in the Philips case see Pratt's edition of Foxe, vol. v, Appendix of Documents, No. II; and *Lords Journals*, i, 66, 71. Harl. MS. 421, fo. 13 (cited by Miss E. Jeffries Davis) contains what appears to be the testimony of one William Russell, a tailor of Coleman Street, to the effect that Philips had been a member of Hacker's sect. An abstract of the documents in Foxe is given in *L. & P.*, vii, No. 155; and Foxe himself presents a summary (v, 29-30) that seems to include the developments of several years.

Froude, who gives some prominence to the case (ii, 76-79), lays the blame for what he considers illegal imprisonment chiefly upon Bishop Stokesley, but partly upon More. He makes no reference to the royal proclamation of March, 1529 (Foxe, iv, 677); does not deny that Philips himself complained, not of More, but of the Bishop; and seems, as Bridgett (270) remarks, not to have been aware that More had discussed the case.

The connection in which More introduces it is significant. He is not defending himself against calumny; he is merely illustrating the possibility that he has just mentioned in the last sentence of the preceding chapter. And the point of the illustration seems to be that, if Philips had any technical ground for complaint, it was because, after having been delivered by indenture to the ordinary, he had been imprisoned, not in the bishop's prison, but, through More's efforts, in the Tower; in other words, he ought to have made his complaint against More. Thereupon More does explain and justify his intervention, it is true; but the justification, which recalls the famous Hunne case, is logically parenthetical. It is also worth noting that, having laboured with Philips for a day or two 'in as hartie louynge maner' as he could, More 'coulede fynde no trowth, neyther in his worde nor his othe.'

Such, in More's judgment, was the author of the petition upon which Froude bases his argument, and from which he quotes a few phrases. The petition itself was drawn up in February, 1534. The Commons referred the matter to the Lords, and the Lords refused to consider it. Froude concludes his note with the unsupported statement that 'by the king and the House of Commons Philips was set at liberty.' Before this, Philips had repeatedly presented petitions—perhaps almost as often as he had been examined. More's words (p. 143, l. 3) about the investigation undertaken at the King's command by 'certain of the greatest lords of his Council' must refer to an early appeal.

Froude's charges were answered by Canon Dixon as follows (i, 198-9, n.): 'Mr. Froude expends some eloquence on the case, with the view of inculpating Sir Thomas More: but he seems to fail therein. 1. He owns that More, who first arrested Philips, delivered him to the ordinary within ten days, as the law required. 2. He adds, however, that More, along with the ordinary, examined him privately from time to time, which private examinations were against the law. For this he refers to Fox. Fox says only that "he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the Bishop," which would surely be in the Bishop's court, not in private. In the very next sentence Fox relates that "one Stacy first bare witness against him, but after *in the court openly* he protested that he did it for fear." The case may prove that the law was bad, but it does not prove that either the chancellor or the diocesan exceeded the law.' Seebohm's similar verdict is quoted at the end of the fourth paragraph in the note on p. 143, l. 22.

✓ Foxe says (v, 29-30) that Philip read his abjuration when it was given him, but refused to read it openly, offering to substitute a statement of his own. Froude states the issue more clearly when he points out that Philips was called upon to abjure in spite of the fact that he had denied the charges and that they had not been established. Such a definition of the issue identifies it with one of the important questions in the More-Saint-German controversy, and may help to explain why so much space was devoted to the argument.

From the fact that Philips had been implicated by divers heretics (p. 142, l. 7), from the testimony that he had been a member of Hacker's sect, from More's own statement about the falsehood and perjury of which he had found Philips guilty, from the uncompromising position of the Bishop, and from the fact that Philips is said (p. 143, l. 11) to have 'now put himself . . . in another, deeper peril', one might infer that despite the failure of the prosecution there was no reasonable doubt of Philips's guilt under the existing laws. In other words, from More's point of view the case would come under the third class in his analysis in the *Debellation* (final paragraph of the note on p. 146, l. 24).

The difficulties with regard to the dates are greater than in the *Petite* case. Froude states that the arrest was made by More in December, 1529, 'the month succeeding his appointment as chancellor'. Foxe enters the case under the year 1530. The petition itself, which was presumably drawn up in February, 1534, states 'that before chrystmas was iij yeres the sayd bishop caused your beadman to be attached' and speaks of 'the space of iij yeres and more whiche he hath contynued prisonner in the tower of London'. This would seem to place the arrest in December, 1530. Froude does not give the date of the final liberation, but he implies that it occurred as the result of the petition of February, 1534. Foxe is unable to say whether the petitioner was helped by his petition or not; and Pratt, in his edition of Foxe (v, 803), assigns the liberation to 1534, the year in which the matter was referred by the Commons to the Lords. For the later history of Philips Miss E. Jeffries Davis (*V. C. H., London*, 258 n.) cites Nichols, *Narratives*, 27; Germain Gardiner, xiii; *L. & P.*, vii, 923 (iii) (xlv); Hall, *Chron.*, 30 Hen. VIII. In the account of *Petite's* imprisonment (Nichols, 27) we have seen that an underkeeper named Philippes granted privileges to Bilney in the spring or summer of 1531, and to Frith in the autumn or winter of 1532. Apparently, therefore, our Thomas Philips, while imprisoned in the Tower for heresy, was acting as keeper of others who were imprisoned on the same charge—an arrangement of which Bishop Stokesley would scarcely have approved. Any momentary doubt about the identification is dispelled by Hall's reference to 'one Thomas Phelips then keper of that prison,' who procured 'the Bible in English' for Sir Nicholas Carew to read during his imprisonment in February, 1539—especially since Hall rather goes out of his way to add the

following comment about the 'Thomas Philips then keper of that prison': 'but before he was a citezen and poyntmaker of London, which Phillips two yeres before had ben there prisoner him selfe, & sore troubled as well by sir Thomas More as also by Doctor Stokslei bishop of London, who often tymes examined the said Philips, & laied many articles to his charge, but he so wisely and coldly vsed him selfe, that he maugre their euel willes, eskaped clerly their handes.' The references include many spellings of the name and describe the person as pointer or pointmaker, underkeeper or keeper, and leatherseller; but the confusion of two different persons (cf. the reference cited from *L. & P.*, vii, where the 'Thos. Philippes, prisoner in the Tower' [item iii] and the 'Filippes leather seller' [item xlv] are separately entered in the index) is practically excluded by Hall's comprehensive statement. Especially important is the assertion that this keeper had been a prisoner in the Tower 'two yeres before', i.e., in 1537; and although it is conceivable that a subsequent imprisonment is referred to, such an interpretation does not easily fit the context. In other words, Hall's statement appears to be at variance with the assumption that Philips was liberated in 1534. Germain Gardiner's *Letter* enables us to assign one of the examinations of 'Thomas Philippes' to Thursday, June 26th, 1533, and this reference naturally connects itself with More's words about the 'deeper peril' into which Philips had fallen in the spring of 1533.

Other aspects of the case deserve some mention. Burnet (i, 243) attributes the repeal of 2 Henry IV, c. 15 to the dissatisfaction that the Commons experienced in the part they had played. Froude (ii, 79) calls attention to the question of privilege that was involved.

The case of Philips links itself with that of Petite in several respects. Both men were arrested by More's order. Philips was certainly, and Petite possibly, delivered by indenture to his ordinary. Both men, though for different reasons, were imprisoned, not in the bishop's prison, but in the Tower, where they were fellow-prisoners for a time. Both men laboured under vehement suspicion, but the evidence actually produced seems not to have been sufficient to prove their guilt. Perhaps the case of Petite, like that of Philips, would come under the third class in More's analysis, cited above. I have shown what seems to me to be reasons for believing that Philips was guilty. Miss Jeffries Davis (258) has 'little doubt that most of the charges against Philip were substantially true.' And the same inference may be drawn, I believe, from the words of Hall. That Petite was guilty on at least two counts is proved by the testimony of his wife.

p. 142, l. 22. same spyryt of pryde that I perceyued byfore in Rycharde Hunne. On the fourth of December, 1514, Richard Hunne, a merchant-tailor of London who was then a prisoner in the Lollards' Tower on a charge of heresy, was found dead, hanging by the neck in a silk girdle. Was it a case of murder, or of suicide? One view

is supported by the accounts of Hall (573-80) and Foxe (iv, 183-205), both of which include the finding of the coroner's jury as reported in an anonymous pamphlet published some twenty-three years after Hunne's death; the opposite view is supported by More's accounts of the case. For modern treatments of the case see Gairdner's critical examination of the evidence (*English Church*, 25-40, 48); 'The Authorities for the Case of Richard Hunne', by Miss E. Jeffries Davis (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, xxx, 477-88); and A. F. Pollard's *Wolsey* (32-51), which contains a criticism of Gairdner's examination, deals with the connection between the cases of Hunne and Standish, and reveals the clash of principles that was involved. The case had its complications. Hunne refused 'to pay the mortuary demanded at the burial of his infant son' [cf. p. 228, ll. 14-25 above], lost the suit in the ecclesiastical court, was charged with heresy, and brought an action for *præmunire* in the king's bench.

Professor Pollard (*ibid.*, 36 n.) points out that More rightly considered himself precluded by the law from mentioning any of the evidence in the case, and that he was chiefly concerned to prove that Hunne 'was a heretic and that Horsey was guiltless of murder (both of which were probably true).' The verdict of the inquest was that Hunne had been murdered; and Dr. Horsey, the Bishop's Chancellor, and two subordinates were indicted. More says little about the two subordinates, but that he regarded them as innocent of the crime with which they were charged follows necessarily from his announced conviction that Hunne committed suicide. In this connection one sentence may be quoted from the *Supplication* (*Works*, 299): 'But after that the matter had been by long time and great diligence so far forth examined that the King's Highness at length—as time alway trieth out the truth—well perceived his [Horsey's] innocency and theirs also that were accused and indicted with him, his noble grace, when they were arraigned upon that indictment and thereto pleaded that they were not guilty, commanded his attorney-general to confess their plea to be true, which is the thing that His Highness, as a most virtuous prince, useth for to do when the matter is not only just but also knowen for just upon the part of the party defendant.'

More's theory is that Hunne had been boasting much of the victory that he hoped to obtain in the *præmunire*, and that when it became evident that the case was going against him, and that the prosecution for heresy (which had been delayed by the Bishop, pending the issue of the *præmunire*) would now be resumed, he began to fall in fear of worldly shame. Whether one accepts this theory of the motive or not, there can be no doubt that More was convinced of Hunne's suicide. The view is expressed in his considerations of the case in the *Dialogue* and the *Supplication* (*Works*, 235-9, 297-9), and is the explanation of the present passage in his *Apology*. A certain boastful pride in Philips reminded him of Richard Hunne; and, recalling that a cousin of Philips

had committed suicide, he used his influence toward having the man imprisoned in the Tower rather than the bishop's prison.

It is obvious that More had taken a deep interest in the case, had made good use of his special opportunities of studying it, and had tried to sift out the truth. 'Forsooth,' he writes (*Works*, 235), '... so well I know it from top to toe that I suppose there be not very many men that knoweth it much better. For I have not only been divers times present myself at certain examinations thereof but have also divers and many times sunderly talked with almost all such, except the dead man himself, as most knew of the matter; which matter was many times in sundry places examined. But specially at Baynard's castle one day was it examined at great length and by a long time, every man being sent for before and ready there all that could be found that anything could tell, or that had said they could anything tell, in the matter. And this examination was had before divers great lords, spiritual and temporal, and other of the King's honourable Council sent thither by His Highness for the nonce, of his blessed zeal and princely desire borne to the searching of the truth. . . . I was also myself present at the judgment given in Paul's, whereupon his books and his body were burned.'

Though More was precluded from dealing with the actual evidence, he did not confine his efforts to arguing that Horsey was innocent, and that Hunne was both a heretic and a suicide; as a controversial writer he had to deal with the popular rumours that Hunne had been murdered. For this purpose the investigation at Baynard's castle offered him material ready to hand. Though the passage in which More makes use of this material (*Works*, 235 ff.) has been printed repeatedly, it deserves to be quoted here as an illustration of More's controversial methods:

'Wherefore, after the rehearsal made of the cause of their coming, the greatest temporal lord there present said unto a certain servant of his own, standing there beside: "Sir, ye told me that one showed you that he could go take him by the sleeve that killed Hunne. Have ye brought him hither?" "Sir," quoth he, "if it like your lordship, this man it was that told me so", pointing to one that he had caused to come thither. Then my lord asked that man, "How say ye, sir? Can ye do as ye said ye could?" "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "and it like your lordship, I said not so much; this gentleman did somewhat mistake me. But indeed I told him that I had a neighbour that told me that he could do it." "Where is that neighbour?" quoth my lord. "This man, sir," quoth he, bringing forth one which had also been warned to be there. Then was he asked whether he had said that he could do it. "Nay, forsooth," quoth he, "my lord, I said not that I could do it myself; but I said that one told me that he could do it." "Well," quoth my lord, "who told you so?" "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "my neighbour here." Then was that man asked: "Sir, know you one that can tell who

killed Richard Hunne?" "Forsooth," quoth he, "and it like your lordship, I said not that I knew one *surely* that could tell who had killed him; but I said indeed that I know one which I *thought* verily could tell who killed him." "Well," quoth the lords at the last, "yet with much work we come to somewhat. But whereby think you that he can tell?" "Nay, forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "it is a woman; I would she were here with your lordships now." "Well," quoth my lord, "woman or man, all is one; she shall be had, wheresoever she be." "By my faith, my lords," quoth he, "and she were here with you, she would tell you wonders. For by God! I have wist her to tell many marvellous things ere now." "Why," quoth the lords, "what have you heard her told [tell]?" "Forsooth, my lords," quoth he, "if a thing had been stolen, she would have told who had it. And therefore I think she could as well tell who killed Hunne as who stole an horse." "Surely," said the lords, "so think all we too, I trow. But how could she tell it? by the devil?" "Nay, by my troth, I trow," quoth he; "for I could never see her use any worse way than looking in one's hand." Therewith the lords laughed, and asked, "What is she?" . . .

"Now, forsooth, quoth your friend, this process came to a wise purpose! Here was a great post well thwited to a pudding prick. But, I pray you, to what point came the second matter, of him that had been in office under so many of the King's almoners that he knew by his own experience and proved that Richard Hunne had not hanged himself?

"Forsooth, quoth I, he was called in next. And then was he asked whereby he knew it. But would God ye had seen his countenance! The man had of likelihood said comewhat too far, and was much amazed, and looked as though his eyes would have fallen out of his head into the lords' laps. But to the question he answered and said that he saw that very well; for he saw him both ere he was taken down, and after. "What then?" quoth the lords; "so did many mo, which yet upon the sight could not tell that." "No, my lords," quoth he, "but I have another insight into such things than other men have." "What insight?" quoth they. "Forsooth," quoth he, "it is not unknown that I have occupied a great while under divers of the King's almoners, and have seen and considered many that have hanged themselves; and thereby, if I see one hang, I can tell anon whether he hanged himself or not." "By what token can you tell?" quoth the lords. "Forsooth," quoth he, "I cannot tell the tokens, but I perceive it well enough by mine own sight. . . . For I know it well enough myself, I have seen so many by reason of mine office." . . . "Well," quoth one of the lords, "how many of them have ye meddled with in your days?" "With many, my lord," quoth he. . . . "How many?" quoth one of the lords. "I cannot tell," quoth he, "now, how many, but I wot well I have seen many." "Have ye seen", quoth one, "an hundred?" "Nay," quoth he, "not an hundred." "Have ye seen four score and ten?" Thereat a little he studied

as one standing in a doubt, and that were loath to lie; and at last he said that he thought nay, not fully four score and ten. Then was he asked whether he had seen twenty. And thereto, without any sticking, he answered, "Nay, not twenty." Thereat the lords laughed well, to see that he was so sure that he had not seen twenty, and was in doubt whether he had seen four score and ten. . . . At the last they came to five, and fro five to four. And thereat he began to study again. Then came they to three; and then for shame he was fain to say that he had seen so many—and mo too! But when he was asked when, whom, and in what place, necessity drove him at last unto the truth; whereby it appeared that he had never seen but one in all his life. And that was an Irish fellow called Crookshank, whom he had seen hanging in an old barn. And when all his cunning was come to this, he was bid walk like himself. . . .

'Forsooth, quoth your friend, this was a mad fellow. Came the third tale to as wise a point?

'Ye shall hear, quoth I. The temporal man that had reported it upon the mouth of the spiritual man was a good worshipful man, and for his truth and worship, was in great credit. And surely the spiritual man was a man of worship also, and well knowen, both for cunning and virtuous. And therefore the lords much marvelled, knowing them both for such as they were, that they should be like to find either the one or the other either make an untrue report, or untruly deny the truth. And first the temporal man, before the lords, in the hearing of the spiritual person standing by, said: "My lords all, as help me God and halidom, Master Doctor here said unto me his own mouth that if Hunne had not sued the *præmunire* he should never have been accused of heresy." "How say you, Master Doctor?" quoth the lords, "was that true? or else why said you so?" "Surely, my lords," quoth he, "I said not all thing so; but marry, this I said indeed, that if Hunne had not been accused of heresy he would never have sued the *præmunire*." "Lo, my lords," quoth the other, "I am glad ye find me a true man. Will ye command me any more service?" "Nay, by my troth!" quoth one of the lords, "not in this matter by my will; ye may go when ye will. For I have espied, good man, so that the words be all one, it maketh no matter to you which way they stand; but all is one to you: a horse mill, and a mill horse; drink ere ye go, and go ere ye drink." "Nay, my lords," quoth he, "I will not drink, God yield you!" And therewith he made courtesy and went his way, leaving some of the lords laughing to see the good, plain, old, honest man—how that as contrary as their two tales were, yet when he heard them both again he marked no difference between them, but took them both for one, because the words were one.

'By my troth, quoth your friend, these three things came merrily to pass, and I would not for a good thing but I had heard them. For here a man may see that misunderstanding maketh misreporting.'

The mere fact that More devotes so much discussion to the Hunne case would be sufficient, were there no other evidence, to prove that popular rumours of murder had been persistent. Indeed it was probably in the same year in which the *Dialogue* was printed that Fish (9, 12) repeated these rumours, including the very version that has just been quoted. 'Had not Richard hunne commenced accyon of premunire ageinst a prest,' Fish wrote, 'he had bin yet alyue, and none eretik, a tall, but an honest man.' More therefore inserted in his *Supplication* (*Works* 297-99) a second review of the case, including a specific defence of Dr. Horsey from various charges that Fish had printed.

p. 143, ll. 14-30. Other haue besydes thys complayned, etc. In this paragraph and the following it is clear that More is dealing with complaints of heretics about their trials. He tells us that these complaints were notoriously unfounded, and that in cases that had been investigated by the Council during the months since his resignation the verdict was that the treatment had been too lenient. The complaints were made, of course, *not against More*, but against the ordinaries. Could this have been the passage upon which Lee, in his account of More (*D.N.B.*), based the following sentence? 'In a few instances the complaints against him were, he tells us, investigated by the council after he went out of office, and although his judges were not too well disposed towards him, he claimed to have been acquitted of undue severity.'

p. 143, l. 24. And some hath ben herd vppon importune clamour, etc. Bridgett's suggestion (270-1) that More in this passage had in mind the case of John Field may serve to justify some consideration of that case here. A copy of Field's petition is printed by Froude (ii, 79-83), and an abstract may be found in *L. & P.*, vi, No. 1059.

Froude himself admits that he has 'only the sufferer's *ex parte* complaint', and that 'More might probably have been able to make some counter-statement.' Yet he attempts to use that complaint in such a way as to injure More's reputation.

The petition itself is undated, but the date of the original arrest is given, and periods of subsequent imprisonment, liberation, and required attendance at sessions are enumerated. From these references I conclude that the petition could not have been presented before the autumn of 1533, and that it could not therefore have been alluded to in the *Apology*. Bridgett also quotes part of a later and similar passage from the *Debellation*, in which—so far as the question of time is concerned—an allusion to the Field case is perhaps just possible. The passage is as follows (*Works*, 962): 'The untruth of such false fame hath been before the King's honourable Council of late well and plainly proved already upon sundry such false complaints by the King's gracious commandment examined. And albeit that this is a thing notoriously

known, and that I have also myself in mine *Apology* spoken thereof, and that, since that book gone abroad, it hath been in like wise before the lords well and plainly proved in mo matters afresh, and albeit that this water washeth away all his matter, yet goeth ever this water over the goose's back, and for anything that any man can do, no man can make it sink unto the skin that she may once feel it, but ever she shaketh such plain proves off with her feathers of "Some say" and "They say the contrary."

If an allusion to the Field case is here chronologically possible, it is at best conjectural. Moreover, to use this passage in More's defence is to admit that Field was arrested and imprisoned for heresy. Canon Dixon (i, 199 n.) doubts whether it was a case of heresy, and points out that 'At least it never came under ecclesiastical cognisance.' Seebohm (*N. Brit. Rev.*, xxx, 125-6) is convinced that the case had nothing to do with the acts against heresy. He points out that the bishops were not concerned in it, that Field was cited to the Star Chamber, that he was imprisoned in the Fleet and the Marshalsea, that the books taken from him were not Protestant books, and that Foxe does not mention him. Seebohm infers that the offence 'was probably a political one'. Referring to the cases of both Philips and Field, he concludes: 'Thus Mr. Froude's attack upon More, in all material points, has vanished altogether in air; and we trust that, in a future edition of his work, he will have the candour entirely to withdraw it.'

Froude finally remarks that he does 'not find the result of this petition, but as it appeared that Henry had interested himself in the story, it is likely to have been successful.' In November, 1536, however, Field addressed a similar petition to Cromwell (*L. & P.*, xi, No. 1164). When he presented his first petition asking simply for a clear discharge, Field was not in prison; in this later petition Field complains that he has already undeservedly suffered imprisonment for nearly three years. With this later arrest and imprisonment More could have had nothing to do, and I mention it partly because it throws some doubt upon Froude's conjecture that the first petition was successful, and partly because it adds to the probability that there was some serious ground for the treatment of which Field first complained.

p. 146, l. 21. by the lawe extra de hereticis. cap. Ad abolendam. The first part of the chapter to which Saint-German here refers is as follows (*Corp. Iur. Canon.*, Tom. ii, *Decretalium Gregorij Lib. V, Tit. VII, Cap. IX*, p. 1672): 'Ad abolendam: . . . Vniuersos, qui de sacramento Corporis & Sanguinis Domini nostri Iesu Christi, vel de baptismo, seu de peccatorum confessione, matrimonio, vel reliquis Ecclesiasticis Sacramentis, aliter sentire, aut docere non metuunt, quam Sacrosancta Romana Ecclesia prædicat, & obseruat: & generaliter quosunque eadem Romana Ecclesia, vel singuli Episcopi per dioeceses suas cum consilio Clericorum, vel Clerici ipsi Sede vacante cum consilio (si

oportuerit) vicinorum Episcoporum, hæreticos iudicauerint, vinculo perpetui anathematis innodamus: . . . Præsenti nihilominus ordinatione sancimus, vt quicumque manifeste fuerint in hæresi deprehensi; si clericus est, vel cuiuslibet religionis obumbratione fuscatus, totius Ecclesiastici ordinis prærogatiua nudetur: & sic omni officio & beneficio spoliatus Ecclesiastico, secularis relinquatur arbitrio Potestatis, animaduersione debita puniendus: nisi continuo post deprehensionem erroris, ad fidei Catholicæ vnitatem sponte recurrere, & errorem suum ad arbitrium Episcopi religionis publice consenserit abiurare, & satisfactionem congruam exhibere.

Laicus autem, nisi (prout dictum est) abiurata hæresi, & satisfactione exhibita, confestim ad fidem confugerit orthodoxam, secularis Iudicis arbitrio relinquatur, debitam recepturus pro qualitate facinoris ultionem. . . .

Qui vero inuenti fuerint sola suspitione notabiles: nisi ad arbitrium Episcopi, iuxta considerationem suspitionis, qualitatemque personæ, propriam innocentiam congrua purgatione monstrauerint, simili sententiæ subiacebunt.'

p. 146, l. 24. **dryuen to a purgacyon . . . wythout offence in hym.** Reeves (iii, 66) describes purgation as follows: 'If a *reus*, who was suspected of a crime, could not be convicted on proof, he was not therefore to be absolved, but was required to make out his innocence by canonical purgation. This was so called, because imposed by the canons, and to distinguish it from the vulgar purgation, which consisted in the ordeal, and had been reprobated, long since, by the clerical law. Canonical purgation was, when a person made out his innocence by his own oath, swearing that he was not guilty, and the oaths of compurgators, swearing that they believed him to speak truth. This was to be directed by the judge who heard the cause in which he was defamed, and by no other. The judge directed purgation, either at the instance of the party who was to be purged, or to satisfy himself respecting the suspicions under which the *reus* laboured. The judge might, if he pleased, though he was not bound to, enjoin purgation, even where the *infamia* did not arise from very probable conjectures.

'Purgation was not to be enjoined but where the *reus* was a credible person, who, though under suspicions, would not be thought very ready to perjure himself; and it was only to be where the party was not convicted, either by legal proof, or his own confession; where the crime was not notorious, but yet he was defamed among good men upon probable suspicions. The judge was to choose the compurgators from persons of honest character, neighbours of the *reus*, and well acquainted with his life and conversation. . . . If he succeeded in his purgation, he was liberated from the charge; if he failed, he was punished the same as if he was convicted or had confessed.'

The verb *abjure* is used transitively, absolutely, and causally with reference either to abjuring the realm or to abjuring heresies (see the *N. E. D.*). In the second and third uses a confusion between the two meanings is sometimes possible; and the noun *abjuration* is not altogether free from a similar danger. In the references to cases of heresy that are mentioned in the *Apology*, the verb and noun always have the 'ecclesiastical' meaning. When a person was convicted of heresy, he was urged to abjure. If he refused he might be delivered to the secular arm as an obstinate heretic; if he consented he was often required openly to read his abjuration, the form of which was prescribed by the spiritual judge before whom the case had been tried. This abjuration was a sworn statement in which the heretic put himself on record as renouncing his heresies; and if he was again found guilty of maintaining them there was no question about its being a case of relapse. See, for example, the abjuration of Thomas Arthur, as quoted from the Tunstall Register (fo. 136) at the end of the 'Process against Bilney and Arthur' in Pratt's edition of Foxe (iv, app.). (This general account does not deal with cases in which a second abjuration did not involve a verdict of relapse or in which, after such a verdict had been pronounced, a second abjuration was voluntarily made.)

It was alleged that sometimes—perhaps when the strength of the suspicion or the character of the accused suggested such a course—persons who had been summoned *ex officio*, who had not been confronted with their accusers, and who had denied holding the heresies with which they were charged, were nevertheless called upon to abjure them. Thus Hall (784), in writing of the objection of the House of Commons to the summoning *ex officio* of heretics, says: 'The partie so assited must either Abjure or be burned, for Purgacion he myght make none.' The alleged use of this proceeding, which would obviously be open to abuse, is the basis of one of Saint-German's chief complaints.

These allegations should not be accepted without some qualification. Hall does not appear to be unprejudiced when he deals with abuses in the ecclesiastical courts. Saint-German, writing anonymously, ignores More's challenge to cite a single case in which a heretic had been wrongly punished under the existing laws. In the *Apology* (p. 143, l. 22, above) and again, with reference to additional cases, in the *Debellation* (see the third paragraph of the note on p. 143, l. 22) More assures us that complaints of wrongful punishment had been repeatedly investigated by the greatest temporal lords of the King's Council and been found baseless. In a carefully worded statement in the *Debellation* he deals with the questions of prescribed penance, purgation, and abjuration, and meets with a partially qualified denial the very assertion that Hall makes. The passage is as follows (*Works*, 986): 'For whereas he [Saint-German] saith that he that is purged of heresy in the suit *ex officio* is put unto penance by the ordinary as a man suspect, whereof he is not cleared, this

man saith untrue, and wotteth not also what he meaneth. For the spiritual judge not only, as I have said, though he were sore suspected in the beginning when he took him, yet if he find in the examination those suspicions cleared, he putteth him to no farther business at all; but also, if it be not so fully cleared but that there remain some tokens of suspicion, of which he think it good to purge him by the oath of himself and some other compurgators with him, he putteth him after the purgation unto no penance neither. But now if it so be that there be well proved such suspicions as are so vehement that, though they prove not precisely the deed, yet make every man that heareth them that he can none otherwise think; there will the ordinary cause him to abjure—and the rather to purge him of the suspicion that he were still naught, and afterward still would be naught, than that he was such before. And then, for using himself in such wise before, though he do penance, he hath but right. But in all those other cases of suspicions purged he saith untrue, for they do no penance at all.’

It could scarcely be expected that More’s conservative view, which implied considerable confidence in the discretion of the spiritual judges, would prevail. I have suggested that the Philips case might come under the third class in More’s analysis in the preceding paragraph, and have cited Burnet’s view of the connection between that case and the repeal—in the year after the publication of the *Apology*—of 2 Henry IV, c. 15.

p. 147, l. 8. of suche thynges, as though they be trewe, etc. With this punctuation and the change in the construction, the sentence is perhaps liable to misinterpretation. The argument is that many men will secretly inform a judge of things that they dare not openly declare, despite the fact that these things are true. In other words, the parenthetical element is *though they be trewe*, and the comma should logically come after, rather than before, the relative *as*.

p. 148, l. 16. yet was that lawe made in a generall counsaile. This statement needs to be supplemented by the following passage from the *Debellation* (*Works*, 979-80): ‘This provision, good readers, that he speaketh, which is in the law *Ad abolendam*, recited in the fifth book of the Decretals, in the title *De Hereticis*, that such as were suspect should purge themselves at the arbitrement and discretion of the ordinary, was, as I before have said, afterward looked upon and allowed in the general council called *Consilium* [*sic*] *Latranense*, as every man may soon perceive that will well consider the paragraph *Excommunicamus* afterward in the same title. For whereas that law there sayeth, *Qui inuenti fuerint sola suspicione notabiles, nisi statim innocentiam suam congrua purgatione monstrauerint*, these words *congrua purgatione* be referred unto the other law, *Ad abolendam*, thereof made before, as both appeareth by such doctors as write upon the laws and also to him that will consider

it well, it well appeareth by the self text. For in the paragraph *Excommunicamus* be rehearsed part of the very words of the law *Ad abolendam*, whereby we may see that the Council looked upon that law.'

p. 148, l. 25. by the comen lawe . . . the iudges awarde a wrytte, etc. *De gestu et fama*.

p. 149, l. 31. hys wrytte of conspyracy. See Reeves, ii, 141; Blackstone, iv, 136.

p. 149, l. 32. the same twelue men that are his endyghtours. Throughout the paragraph to this point More is referring to the grand jury, at least twelve of whom were required to swear to an indictment. In the second sentence following, the phrase 'by other . xii .' refers to the trial, or petty, jury.

p. 149, l. 35. For amendes the law geueth him none. A. F. Pollard (*Henry VII*, ii, 116-7) prints an interesting document in which the English system of trial by jury, and incidentally this very point, is subjected to criticism.

p. 150, l. 23. I neuer saw the day yet, but that I durst as well trust the trouth of one iudge as of two iuries. In a long passage in *Salem and Bizance*, painstakingly quoted by More in the *Debellation* (*Works*, 983 ff.), Saint-German emphasizes the differences between the summoning *ex officio* and the common-law analogy that More had drawn, quotes More's assertion that he 'durst as well trust the truth of one judge as of two juries', and remarks that 'the judges will can him but little thank for that praise.' To the latter remark More retorts, 'This answer, of truth, is not worth a straw. For as for that he saith the judges will for that praise can me little thank, that word were somewhat if I had said it for their thank. But I said it, in good faith, not for their thank at all, but because it is very truth.'

Some of the differences that Saint-German had alleged, More cheerfully admits, pointing out that without them the case would not be one of analogy but of identity. He contends, however, that these differences do not affect the point of the analogy. Finally, after arguing seriously at some length, he yields to the ever-present temptation to represent the position of his opponent in a ludicrous light, and even goes so far as to hit off the mannerisms of that opponent. The more amusing touches in the following passage (*Works*, 992-3), therefore, will be apparent only after some acquaintance with the 'Book of Division':

'And therefore, while upon differences and diversities that he putteth between them—such as let them not be like *in the thing that I liken them for*—he boasteth in conclusion that I cannot prove them like, I shall show you what thing now this boast of his is like.

'If it had come in this good man's head to devise a law, and write a book therefor, to kill up all the bandogs throughout all the realm (where—in his time, as unwisely as it were bestowed, had not yet been so ill spent

as it hath been in this), and then would lay for the cause, that bandogs do spend victual, and will sometime bite folk too—if I would then write against his wise book and say that he might by *that reason* kill up hounds and greyhounds and all, for *they* must eat too, and will sometime bite children too; but li[k]ewise yet as they may not yet, for all that, be forborne (both for the pleasure that they do, and also for that they help to take us some such beasts of venery as men eat, and hunt and kill also such other beasts and vermin as else would destroy much victual), so the bandogs may not be forborne neither, for they both defend husbandmen's houses from thieves, and help folk home with their beasts too sometime, such as would not else come home; now might this good man, by this reason that he useth here, write again and defend his politic device against bandogs, and therein answer me thus: First, that for defence of folks' houses there shall need no bandogs at all; for men may make their servants watch, or make fast all their doors, and when thieves would break in, defend their houses themselves. And as for such beasts as would not come home, if they be not over heavy, they may bear them home; and those that be too heavy to be borne home—tie ropes to their tails and draw them home. And then might he say yet a little farther, and that is this, that he marveled much that I could for shame and fear of mine own conscience resemble and liken together gentle hounds or goodly greyhounds to such ill-favoured mastiffs; and then, to prove them very far unlike, put his differences and his diversities, and say: A mastiff hath, you wot well, a great jolt head, and a great muzzle, and a thick boistous body, whereas a greyhound hath a proper head, with a goodly, small, long snout, and fair, long, slender sides—and the hounds yet much less like too. And thereupon might he there conclude, as he now concludeth here, and say thus:

'And thus it appeareth that Master More can neither prove the mastiffs to be like to the greyhounds, nor to the other gentle hounds neither; and that for the causes before remembered. Wherefore it seemeth that though all bandogs and mastiffs were clearly put away, yet men's houses should be defended well enough, and their beasts brought home well enough too, so they should, lo!'

p. 152, l. 26. *de hereticis li. vi. in the chapyter In fidei fauorem.* The chapter to which the Pacifier refers is as follows (*Corp. Iur. Canon., Tom. iii, Sexti Decretalium, Lib. V, Tit. II, De Hæreticis, Cap. V*, p. 617): 'In fidei fauorem concedimus, vt in negotio Inquisitionis hæreticæ prauitatis excommunicati, & participes, vel socij criminis ad testimonium admittantur: præsertim in probationum aliarum defectum contra Hæreticos, credentes, fautores, receptatores, & defensores eorum: si ex verisimilibus coniecturis, & ex numero testium, aut personarum tam deponentium, quam eorum, contra quos deponitur, qualitate, ac alijs circumstantiis sic testificantes falsa non dicere præsumantur.'

p. 152, l. 29. the chapter *Accusatus perag. licet*. This section is as follows (*ibid.*, cap. VIII, p. 622): 'Licet vero periuri a testimonio etiam post pœnitentiam repellantur: si tamen ij, qui coram Inquisitoribus iurantes tam de se, quam de aliis super facto hæresis dicere veritatem, eam celando deierent, & postmodum velint corrigere dictum suum, contra se, ac alios suos complices deponendo: cum crimen huiusmodi sit exceptum, si ex manifestis indiciis apparuit tales non animi leuitate, aut odij fomite, seu corruptione pecuniæ, sed zelo fidei orthodoxæ dictum suum velle corrigere, ac modo, quæ prius tacuerant, reuelare: in fauorem fidei, nisi aliud obsistat, stari debet tam contra se, quam contra reliquos attestationibus eorundem.'

p. 153, l. 5. 'This is a daungerous lawe. A similar complaint appears in the Petition of the Commons and is dealt with in the Answer of the Ordinaries. See Gee and Hardy, 152, 164; or Froude, i, 220, 234-5.

p. 153, l. 15. touched in . . . the thyrd booke of my dyaloge. Of the following selection (*Works*, 209-10) the first contains the Messenger's objections to the law that is here under discussion: 'And is not this a wondrous case that, whereas in a matter of a little money no law receiveth any witness but honest and credible, the law made by the Church should in so great matter, so highly touching the utter destruction of a man in body and goods, with a death the most painful that can be devised, admit and receive a person infamed, and give faith and credence to an infidel whom they have proved and reproved false in his faith to God? Nor methinketh the excuse but very slender that I have ere this heard in this point alleged for the Church, that such simple witness are admitted in heresy because the crime is so great and so odious that therefore it is worthy to be handled with the more rigour and the less favour. And this thing will I well agree for good reason in the punishment of the crime when it is proved; but 'fore God, not in hatred and persecution of the person *ere* the crime be proved. But now whereas they receive the witness of so slight and false fellows for a proof, they pursue the person and not the crime; whereas methinketh on the other side the more heinous, odious, and abominable that the crime is, the more slow should we be to believe it, and the more sure and plain proof should we have, ere we should judge any man for so evil to commit it.'

After pointing out that the testimony of witnesses might be sifted as they were severally examined, and that a further safeguard was provided in the discretion of the judge, More proceeds to answer the Messenger's last objection as follows: 'Somewhat ye said indeed if the hatred of the crime were all the cause. But therein ye go far wide. For the chief cause why that in heinous criminal causes, as theft, murder, treason, and heresy, the law taketh such for witness as it will not accept in a matter of money or other contract made between two parties is for that else all such crimes should pass forth unpunished, and thereby should the

world swarm full of such mischievous people for lack of proof and trial in the matter, because that those which go about such an heinous deed as, coming once to knowledge, would bring them to a shameful death, do not use commonly to take a notary and honest witness with them to make an instrument thereof . . . but use to do it by stealth as covertly as possible. By reason whereof, reason moveth, and necessity compelleth—except ye would have all go to naught—to receive such records as they be wont to make of their counsel, which be, as ye wot well, none but such as they be themself.’

p. 153, l. 24. **as are receyued not onely in a cause of treason, but of murder also, and of other more syngle felony.** In *Salem and Bizance* (folios LVI-LVIII) Saint-Germain takes exception to this statement. For More’s reply see his *Works*, 996-8.

p. 153, l. 30. **those that are done, sholde passe vnpunysshed.** In the *Debellation* More concludes his argument in favour of the law here under discussion by illustrating its advantages from his own legal experience. ‘Though this good man cannot see it,’ he writes (*Works*, 996), ‘other men can see it, and have seen it, and daily do see it well enough. I have seen such things as this is, myself, proved I cannot tell how often, that in the excuse of a thief some have taken an oath that the felon was with him in his own house at such time as the felony should be done in another place. And a man would have weened he had been credible and said truth. And yet afterward hath himself confessed that the felon and and himself also were at the robbery both twain, and his bare word then more true than before was his solemn oath. And euery man that hath meddled much with such examinations hath a sure experience that this is a common fashion of murderers and thieves and such as are thieves’ receivers, of whom at the first face some seem honest men, and are so sometime reputed, and come forth for declaration of them that are suspected and in trouble, and depose for them, and yet after some other occasion in examining of the matter, begin to be suspected themself, and afterward confess it too, both of themself and them whom they came to clear by their perjury before.’

p. 154, l. 28. **the chapyter . . . Statuta quedam.** The following passage is from the chapter referred to (*Corp. Iur. Canon., Tom. iii, Sexti Decretalium, Lib. V, Tit. II, De Hæreticis, Cap. XX*, pp. 644-5): ‘Iubemus tamen, quod si accusatoribus vel testibus in causa hæresis interuenientibus, seu deponentibus (propter potentiam personarum, contra quas inquiritur) videant Episcopus, vel Inquisitores graue periculum imminere, si contingat fieri publicationem nominum eorum: ipsorum nomina non publice, sed secreto coram dioecetano Episcopo, vel eo absente ipsius Vicario, quando Inquisitores procedunt: quando vero procedit Episcopus coram Inquisitoribus, si haberi commode possit copia eorundem: ac nihilominus siue Episcopus, siue Inquisitores processerint, aliquibus aliis personis prouidis, & honestis, iurisque peritis

(quas ad hoc vocari, & eis per totum processum, super quo deliberandum est, seriose manifestari, ac integraliter explicari, & de ipsorum consilio ad sententiam, vel condemnationem procedi volumus) exprimentur: sicque (non obstante quod illis, contra quos huiusmodi deposuerunt, nomina ipsorum non fuerint publicata) adhibeatur ad cognitionem ludicis instruendam plena fides depositionibus testium eorundem.

‘Et vt eorundem accusatorum, & testium periculis efficacius occurratur, & cautius in inquisitionis negotio procedatur: præsentis constitutionis auctoritate permittimus, quod Episcopus, vel Inquisitores secretum possint indicare illis, quibus, (vt præmissum est) processum huiusmodi explicabunt, & in eos, si arcana consilij, seu processus sibi sub secreto ab eisdem Episcopo, vel Inquisitoribus patefacta, præter eorum licentiam aliis patefecerint, excommunicationis sententiam, quam ex secreti violatione ipso facto incurrant, (si eis expedire videbitur) promulgare: sic tamen quod Inquisitores Episcopum, vel Episcopus Inquisitores non excommunicent hac de causa: sed ipsi ex iniuncto ex nunc a nobis sub virtute sanctæ obedientiæ districto præcepto ad secretum huiusmodi teneantur.’

p. 156, l. 1. **yt appereþ extra the heretices li.vi.cap. Vt inquisitionis, perag. Prohibemus.** This paragraph is as follows (ibid., cap. XVIII, p. 642): ‘Prohibemus quoque; districtius Potestatibus dominis temporalibus & rectoribus eorundemque; officialibus supradictis, ne ipsi de hoc crimine (cum mere sit Ecclesiasticum) quoquo modo cognoscant, vel iudicent. siue captos pro eodem crimine absque dictorum Episcoporum, siue Inquisitorum, aut saltem alterius eorundem licentia, vel mandato, a carcere liberent: aut executionem sibi pro huiusmodi crimine a dioecesano, vel Inquisitoribus seu inquisitore iniunctam, prompte (prout ad suum spectat officium) facere, seu adimplere detrectent: vel alias dioecesanorum, aut Inquisitorum iudicium, sententiam, seu processum directe, vel indirecte impedire præsumant.’

p. 156, l. 7. **Summa rosella / taketh yt titulo excommunicat. perag. iiij.** The passage to which Saint-German refers is as follows (fo. 172 v^o): ‘*Domini temporales qui cognoscunt de officio inquisitionis: aut captos liberarent: excommunicati sunt extra eo. vt inquisitionis. liber vi. et hoc intellige: siue principaliter: siue incidenter cognoscant puta: quia de causa principali cognoscentes. faciunt capi hereticum incidenter: puta: quia fecerant eum capi alia de causa Sed incidenter de hoc inquisierunt.*’

p. 156, l. 10. **for they . . . by statute, enqyre of heresy.** For the text see *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 181-4; Ruffhead, i, 493.

p. 156, l. 33. **his deuyce . . . though it wolde serue in some one lande,** etc. More’s answer to Saint-German’s proposal is not merely adroit; it is indeed based upon the convictions for which he laid down his life. See Roper’s account (264-5) of More’s speech on the occasion of his indictment for treason.

p. 157, l. 13. and also to make greate prouisions agaynst it bysyde. For the text of the statute see *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 125-8; Ruffhead, i, 440-41.

p. 158, l. 1. the lawes . . . maye well stand togyther, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. LXX) Saint-German calls attention to the fact that More slurs lightly over this clash between the statutes and canon law.

p. 158, p. 31. they do yt rather to oppresse theym that speke any thyng agaynste the worldely power, etc. Similar charges are made by Fish (8) and Barnes (217).

p. 161, l. 6. committed vnto theyr kepyng.' The final paragraph in the seventh chapter of Saint-German's treatise (224 above) is not quoted by More. It may be remembered that More's promise (68 above) was to 'take his fyrst chapter whole.' The above-mentioned paragraph, however, is the only omission from the other two chapters that More considers. The omission may conceivably have been due to his desire to avoid any unnecessary discussion of the question of royal intervention. It is at least worthy of notice that the omitted paragraph recalls Gairdner's suggestion that Saint-German's treatise was inspired by royal influence.

p. 162, l. 1. AND yet to brynge the spyrytualty in the more hatered, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XXXIX v°), after quoting this passage, the Pacifier protests as follows: 'And I meruaile that master Moore dare of his conscience make that affirmaunce, and say that myne intent was suche.' He proceeds to cite some half-dozen passages that should, he asserts, have sufficed to disprove any such intent.

p. 163, l. 14. there is not I thynke verily any one prouyncyali constytucyon, etc. In *Salem and Bizance* (folios LXXV v°-LXXVI) Saint-German dissents as follows: 'And verily if maister More wolde haue remembred hym selfe wel, howe ofte the seid constitution prouinciall, made for payenge of tithes of wodde aboue .xx. yeres, hath ben put in execucion, nowe of late dayes, to the grefe of many lay men: he wolde not haue sayde so generally, that there is not any one constitution prouinciall, that I speke of, to any mans grefe or gruge put in execucion in the tyme of any of the prelatys that are nowe liuinge.'

p. 163, l. 20. But I suppose he calleth . . . conuocacyons, by the name of confederacyes. Rejecting any such interpretation of his words, Saint-German (*ibid.*, folios LXXIII-LXXV) explains that he means 'the confederacies, wherby spiritual men pretend to meyntene the lawes of the church, where they be sometyme ageynste the kinges lawes, and the olde customes of the realme, as it is of not puttinge of prestis to answeare afore the kingis Iustices, and to beare out the Constitution prouinciall, that is made ayenst the old custome of the realme, for tith of wodde aboue .xx. yeres: . . . And so lykewise of dyuers other

statutes concernyng the spiritualtie, as is the Statute of mortuaries, and suche other: whiche statutes many priestes resist in many places to this day, and other priestis agree with them in the same, and sey, they be ayenst the libertie of the church, & that they that obserue them be accursed. And also of perticular confederacies of priestes, as to meinteine obites, and the wages of priestes, and also to haue more at burialles in som places then they haue vsed to haue in tyme paste,' etc.

For a long discussion on 'tithes of wodde aboue .xx. yeris,' see Saint-Germain's *Doctor and Student*, 278-99.

p. 164, l. 32. **Summa Rosella**, in the tittle **Hereticus in principio**. This passage is as follows (folios 230 v^o-231 r^o): 'Quid proprie faciat quem hereticum. dic quod duo, scilicet error in fide et pertinacia. et hoc est quod dicit cardinalis in clementinis de summa trinitate, quod errans per simplicitatem nullo modo potest dici hereticus, et per consequens nec excommunicatus per verbum pertinaciter positum in dictis clementinis nam qui per simplicitatem errat non pertinaciter credit. immo talis posset mereri. Per omne exemplum. vt quia aliquis simplex audiens predicationem sui episcopi qui predicat aliquid contra fidem. illud credit animo obediendi fidei paratus tamen corrigi talis meretur quia iudicatur ex intentione.'

p. 165, l. 10. **Aydan . . . held the wrong parte of kepyng of Easter**. The fact that St. Aidan followed the Celtic calendar in the observance of Easter is deplored by Bede in the following passage (161): 'Hæc in præfato antistite multum complector et amo, quia nimirum hæc Deo placuisse non ambigo. Quod autem pascha non suo tempore obseruabat, uel canonicum eius tempus ignorans, uel suæ gentis auctoritate ne agnitus sequeretur deuictus, non adprobo nec laudo.' See also the rest of the chapter, and the references in Plummer's Introduction to the volume (xxxix-xl).

p. 165, l. 11. **some say that saynt Chadde was of the same opynyon**. About St. Chad Bede makes the following statement (195): 'Erat enim de discipulis Aidani, eisdemque actibus ac moribus iuxta exemplum eius ac fratris sui Ceddi suos instituere curauit auditores.'

p. 165, l. 16. **ne yet the abbotte Ioachim/ etc.** Joachim of Flora publicly announced in 1200 that he wished to submit all his writings to the judgment of the Pope, Innocent III (*Acta SS.*, May, VII, p. 102). The authenticity of this document, called in question by Preger, is defended by Tocco (297-8) in his account of the Abbot. Joachim died before any judgment had been pronounced, but certain of his doctrines concerning the Trinity were condemned as erroneous by the Lateran Council in 1215. See Densinger, 120-23.

p. 165, l. 24. **For as some haue reported/ etc.** Cf. the first sentence of the twelfth item in the Petition of the Commons (Gee and Hardy, 151-2; Froude, i, 219).

p. 167, l. 19. **London and Essex, and those are both in one dyocyse.** The diocese of London included, besides the city itself, Middlesex, Essex, and the eastern part of Hertford.

p. 167, l. 23. **myght as well in maner reherse them euyn by name.** Richard Fitzjames, Bishop of London at the time of Hunne's death, had been succeeded in 1522 by More's intimate friend, Cuthbert Tunstall, who remained Bishop of London until 1530. His successor, John Stokesley, was the Bishop at the time More wrote. (Newcourt, i, 25.)

p. 167, l. 25. **of those same some . . . is there some so lerned, etc.** This remark would certainly be true both of Bishop Stokesley and of Bishop Tunstall. More's high opinion of the latter has already been noticed in the note on p. 49, l. 35; and cf. Newcourt, i, 25. Of Bishop Stokesley, Erasmus writes as follows (iii, 357): 'Ioannes Stocleius præter scholasticam hanc theologiam, in qua nemini cedit, trium etiam linguarum haud vulgariter peritus, a sacris.' And cf. also *ibid.*, iv, 22.

p. 168, l. 21. **But where thys pacyfyer speketh of passyons, etc.** The two paragraphs that More devotes to the suggestion that a man might utter heresy 'of a passion' appear to have annoyed the Pacifier. In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. XLIII v^o) he complains of the way in which More deals with these words, 'as thoughe I had spoken them of dampnable and obstinate passions, where the lettre serueth plainly for passions of ignorance and frailtie, and that be done for lacke of good aduysemente.' (See p. 225 above.)

More's surprisingly serious answer may be found in the *Debellation* (*Works*, 958-9).

p. 169, l. 16. **streighted by the playne law, etc.** See *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 128; Ruffhead, i, 441.

p. 171, l. 22. **as appereth Clementinis de hereticis. Capi. Multorum querela.** The first part of this chapter is as follows (*Corp. Iur. Canon.*, Tom. iii, *Clementinarum Lib. V, Tit. III, De Hæreticis, Cap. I*, p. 263): 'Multorum querela sedis Apostolicæ pulsauit auditum, quod nonnulli Inquisitores per sedem eandem contra prauitatem hæreticam deputati metas sibi traditas excedentes, sic interdum extendunt suæ potestatis officium, vt quod in augmentum fidei per circumspectam eiusdem sedis vigilantiam salubritur est prouisum (dum sub pietatis specie grauantur innoxij) cedat in fidelium detrimentum. . . .

'Propter quod ad Dei gloriam, & augmentum eiusdem fidei, vt negotium inquisitionis huiusmodi eo prosperetur felicius, quo deinceps eiusdem labis indago solennius, diligentius, & cautius peragetur: ipsum tam per dioecesanos Episcopos, quam per Inquisitores a sede Apostolica deputatos (omni carnali amore, odio, vel timore, ac cuiuslibet commodi temporalis affectione semotis) decernimus exerceri. Sic quod quilibet de prædictis sine alio citare possit, & arrestare, siue capere, ac tute

custodiæ mancipare, ponendo etiam in compedibus, vel manicis ferreis, si ei visum fuerit faciendum: super quo ipsius conscientiam oneramus, nec non inquirere contra illos, de quibus pro huiusmodi negotio, secundum Deum, & iustitiam viderit expedire: Duro tamen tradere carceri, siue arcto qui magis ad pœnam, quam ad custodiam videatur, vel tormentis exponere illos, aut ad sententiam procedere contra eos, Episcopus sine Inquisitore, aut Inquisitor sine Episcopo dioecesano, aut eius Officiali, vel Episcopali sede vacante Capituli super hoc delegato, si sui ad inuicem copiam habere valeant intra octo dierum spatium, postquam se inuicem requisierint, non valebit.

p. 171, l. 23. **at the specyall callyng on of the spyritualty/** etc. The petition of convocation, which Wilkins prints in full (iii, 252-3), and the chief provisions of the consequent act of Parliament are summarized by Wylie (i, 189).

p. 171, l. 33. **but not vpon euery lyght complaynt.** Compare the third item in the Petition of the Commons (Gee and Hardy, 145 ff.; Froude, i, 213-14).

p. 173, l. 21. **exalted, that he is . . . this pacyfyer assygneth.** In *Salem and Bizance* (fo. LXVI) Saint-German accuses More of 'mis-rehearsing' in this summary. Quoting the original sentence through the word 'exalted' (app., p. 224, ll. 3-9) he continues: 'And there my sentence endeth, as to this purpose. But then as it appereth before master More in his said apologie addeth immediatly to those wordes of myn, wordes of his owne putting in, which be these: That he is through suche pride ferre fro suche indifferance and equitie, as ought and must be in tho iuges, which he saith I assigne. And he combyneth tho words to myn, in suche maner as thoughe I spake them my selfe. So that they that shal rede them, can none otherwyse take them, but as my wordes: wherby he peruerteth clerely my meanyng therin and my sentence therin.'

In the *Debellation* (*Works*, 1008) More replies as follows: 'If this good man here say true in these aforesaid words of his, "And there my sentence endeth as to this purpose," then am I content to confess that he saith well, and I wrong. But on the other side now, if he say not true, but that in the defaming and slandering of the spirituality his sentence ended not there, but went there much farther forth—and so far forth also as amounted unto as much as I say that he said, and unto much more too—then will every man bear me record that I misreport not him, but he me.

'Now shall you, good readers, soon see this tried between us. For his whole words, as they lie there together, I shall now rehearse you here. Lo, these be they, as you shall find them both in his Book of Division and in mine *Apology*' (pp. 224, 160-61).

Calling attention to the fact that the passage in question was correctly quoted in the *Apology*, More has no difficulty in showing that his subsequent 'rehearsing' of the substance was just.

p. 173, l. 28. **though they were made iustices of Ayer.** I have recorded the 1557 variant *Oyer*, but the *N. E. D.* recognizes *Ayer* as a form of *Eyre* (=itineration, circuit), and defines 'justices in eyre' as itinerant judges who rode the circuit to hold courts in the different counties (see Blackstone, iii, 61 n.). In all the *N. E. D.* examples the preposition is *in*. Is it possible that More intended a pun?

p. 177, l. 10. **the gret besynes that was there on a May daye,** etc. More refers to 'Evil May-day', 1517, which he had good reason to remember. See the accounts in Hall (588-91), Stow (505-6), and Brewer (i, 244-48).

p. 177, l. 13. **an olde statute . . . agaynst al such as wold violat the kynges saufconducte.** See Ruffhead, ii, 178-79.

p. 178, l. 8. **of whome euery one hath in euery shyre a dyuerse name.** For examples see the notes on George Joye (p. 132, l. 14), Constantine (p. 133, l. 24), and Bayfield (p. 98, l. 16), and the reference in the text to Byrt (p. 132, l. 17).

p. 179, l. 22. **Cuthbert now bysshop of Durham.** More's friend, Bishop Tunstall (note on p. 49, l. 35), had been translated in 1522 to the diocese of Durham. (Le Neve, ii, 299.)

p. 179, l. 32. **as they sodaynly dyd in Basyll.** A short account of this uprising is given by Foxe (iv, 340-41); a less prejudiced and more detailed account, by Hagenbach (126-7).

p. 180, l. 33. **what arbytrours.** For a description of the practice referred to see A. F. Pollard, *Henry VII*, ii, 116.

p. 181, l. 6. **geteth a parcyall panell, laboreth the iury.** See the passage quoted by A. F. Pollard (*ibid.*, 129) from a letter in the Plumpton Correspondence.

p. 183, l. 6. **that statute of kyng Henry the iiiii, etc.** For the three statutes to which More refers in this sentence and the following see *Statutes of the Realm*, ii, 125-28, 181-84, 25-26; Ruffhead, i, 440-41, 493-94, 358.

p. 184, l. 6. **not onely the abolycyon of the fayth, etc.** In the latter part of this sentence More apparently has in mind the phrases of the statute.

p. 184, l. 13. **& the felde taken vp before, etc.** More refers to the attempt of the heretics and malcontents to meet in arms in St. Giles's Fields in January, 1414, which was anticipated and thwarted by the prompt action of Henry V. See Lingard, iii, 237-8, and Gairdner, *Lollardy*, i, 80-81.

p. 186, l. 13. **wycliffes wyckette.** The influence of Wycliffe's *Wicket* upon some of the Protestant controversialists has already been noticed. More's remark about a tinker's having been instructed in this book by some old cunning weaver gives a hint of the continued circulation of this prohibited book—a fact that appears frequently in Foxe's reports of the accusations and examinations of heretics.

p. 186, l. 16. **suche a one as Fryth wryteth . . . was . . . more meately to be bysshoppe than many that weare the myter.** More refers to the second paragraph of Frith's answer to his *Letter* (*Works*, 107): 'I chanced, being in these parties [i.e., parts], to be in company with a Christian brother which for his commendable conversation and sober behaviour might better be a bishop than many that wear miters, if the rule of St. Paul were regarded in their election.' It is possible that the Christian brother to whom Frith refers may have been Andrew Hewet, who was burned for heresy with Frith. See Foxe, v, 6, 16.

p. 188, l. 32. **when sholde there by these meanes, etc.** In thus concluding his long *reductio ad absurdum* More omits, curiously enough, the strangest excuse that Saint-German had advanced—the excuse that heresies might be spoken 'in passion'.

p. 191, l. 36. **yf there wolde . . . (as saint Poule sayth).** See *Gal.* i, 8.

p. 193, l. 27. **Poule sayth that heresydes be manyfest.** See *Gal.* v, 19-20.

p. 194, l. 15. **as saynt Poule sayth.** This sentence is reminiscent of 1 *Cor.* iii, 6; 2 *Cor.* iv, 6.

p. 194, l. 22. **as Horace sayeth.** In the first satire (ll. 24-5).

p. 195, l. 24. **who so lyst to saye that I haue not fulfyllled thys promyse/ etc.** The structure of the preceding sentence, which More quotes from the preface to the *Confutation*, would have been incomplete without the words 'I purpose to answere good yonge father Fryth'; but More does not mean to imply that the latter purpose had been fulfilled. He did not, in fact, live to answer Frith's attack upon purgatory, the work to which he here refers. See p. 196, l. 12 and the note thereon.

p. 196, l. 7. **the . vii . fyrst chapyters and the laste of my seconde booke of my dyaloge.** More's titles for the eight chapters referred to above follow, together with illustrative quotations from some of them. The page references are to the *Works*.

I. 'The Messenger recapitling certain things before proved, and for his part agreeing that the Church of Christ cannot in any necessary article of the faith fall in any damnable error, doth put in doubt and question, Which is the very church of Christ; alleging that they, peradventure, whom we call heretics, will say that themselves is the Church, and we not. Whereof the Author sheweth the contrary, declaring whereby we may know that they cannot be the Church.' (177)

'Besides all this, ye cannot say that these be the Church whom we call heretics, but ye must tell *which kind* of them is the Church. For *all* cannot be, sith the Church is, and must be, all of one belief, and have all one faith.' (179)

II. 'The Author sheweth that no sect of such as the Church taketh for heretics, can be the Church, forasmuch as the Church was before all them, as the tree from which all those withered branches be fallen.' (179)

III. 'The Messenger moveth that the very church, peradventure, is not the people that we take for it, but a secret, unknowen sort of such only as be by God predestinate to be saved. Whereunto the Author answereth, and declareth that it cannot be so.' (181)

'Where they say that there be none therein but they that be predestinate to be saved, if the question were of the Church triumphant in heaven, then said they well. But we speak of the Church of Christ militant here in earth; and therefore goeth their frame as far wide from the place they should set it on as heaven and earth stand asunder. For first would I wit, if the Church be none but those that be predestinate, whether all that been predestinate be members thereof.'

Upon the Messenger's affirmative answer More proceeds to show the absurdity of a theory that would make Saint Paul a member of the Church at that very time when he was bitterly persecuting it.

IV. 'The Messenger moveth that though the church be not the number of folk only predestinate to bliss, yet it may peradventure be the number of good and well-believing folk here and there unknowen, which may be, peradventure, those whom we condemn for heretics for holding opinion against images. Whereof the Author proveth the contrary.' (182)

V. 'The Author sheweth and concludeth that this common known multitude of Christian nations not cut off, nor fallen off by heresies, be the very Church of Christ—good men and bad together.' (185)

VI. 'The Messenger moveth that sith the Church is this known multitude of good men and bad together, of whom no man knoweth which be the one sort and which be the other, that it may be, peradventure, that the good sort of the Church be they that believe the worship of images to be idolatry, and the bad sort they that believe the contrary; which objection the Author doth answer and confute.' (186)

VII. 'The Author somewhat doth corroborate the truth against the heresies holding against images; and recapitling somewhat briefly what hath been proved, so finisheth and endeth the proof of his part.' (187)

XII. 'The Author confirmeth the truth of our faith and usage in the worship of images, by the consent of the old holy doctors of the Church approving the same (as appeareth well in their writings), whom God hath by many miracles testified to be saints. The Messenger

eftsoon doubteth whether we can be sure that the miracles told by them were true or not, or themself saints or not. Whereupon the Author proveth that of any miracles told by any saints, we may be most sure of theirs, and consequently by their miracles most sure of them that they be surely saints. And in this chapter also proveth that the miracles and consent of those holy doctors do prove that this must needs be the very true Church in which they have written, and miracles have been done. Whereupon is finally concluded eftsoons the truth of the principal question, and therewith finisheth the second book.' (199)

p. 196, l. 12. **farther thinges as I haue in my sayd preface promysed.** That More refers to the further prosecution of his *Confutation* and to the answer that he intended to make to Frith's attack upon the doctrine of purgatory is clear from the following sentences from the preface of the *Confutation* (*Works*, 355), the first of which is a continuation of the quotation that More interrupted on p. 195:

'... I purpose to answer good young father Frith, which now suddenly cometh forth so sagely that three old men, my brother Rastell, the Bishop of Rochester, and I, matched with father Frith alone, be now but very babes and, as he calleth us, insipients.'

'... Howbeit I shall leave young father Frith in his pride and glory for the while. But when Tyndale is once in that article touching the Church confuted, then hath Frith already concerning purgatory clearly lost the field... And yet shall I, for all that, go further with young father Frith and touch, if God will, every part of his fresh-painted book...

'... Finally, after that I shall have answered Frith, I purpose to return again unto Tyndale's book and answer him in every chapter that he hath impugned in the four books of my *Dialogue*.'

p. 196, l. 14. **better to bestowe some tyme, etc.** His laborious controversy with the English heretics, which had always been distasteful to More, must have been doubly distasteful at this time, when he doubtless felt that his days were numbered. The closing passage of the *Apology*, indeed, conveys the impression that More was eager to lay down his controversial pen; not improbably he was already contemplating a very different kind of writing. But Saint-German's reply and the anonymous *Supper of the Lord*—both aimed directly at More—practically compelled him to write two other long controversial works during this same year; and it was probably not until a year later, when he was a prisoner in the Tower, that he could find leisure to gather the fruits of his lifelong meditations in his *Dialogue of Comfort against Tribulation*, and his *Treatise upon the Passion*.

**A Table Showing the Correspondence between the
Pages of the Present Edition and those of
the 1557 Edition of More's 'Works.'**¹

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¹ E.g., the word *tolerable*, which occurs on p. 3, l. 11, of the present edition, is the last word on p. 845 of the edition of 1557.

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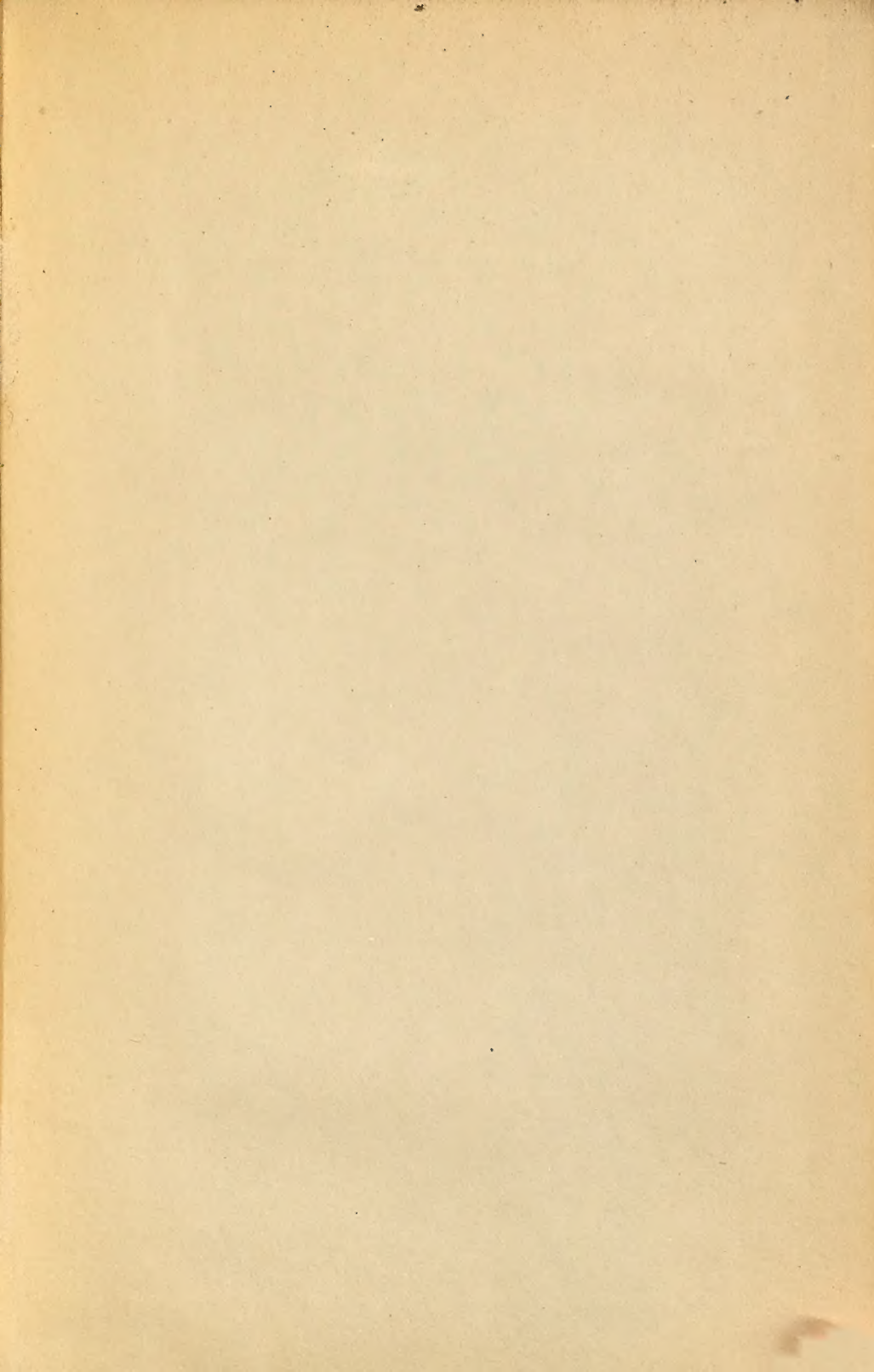
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